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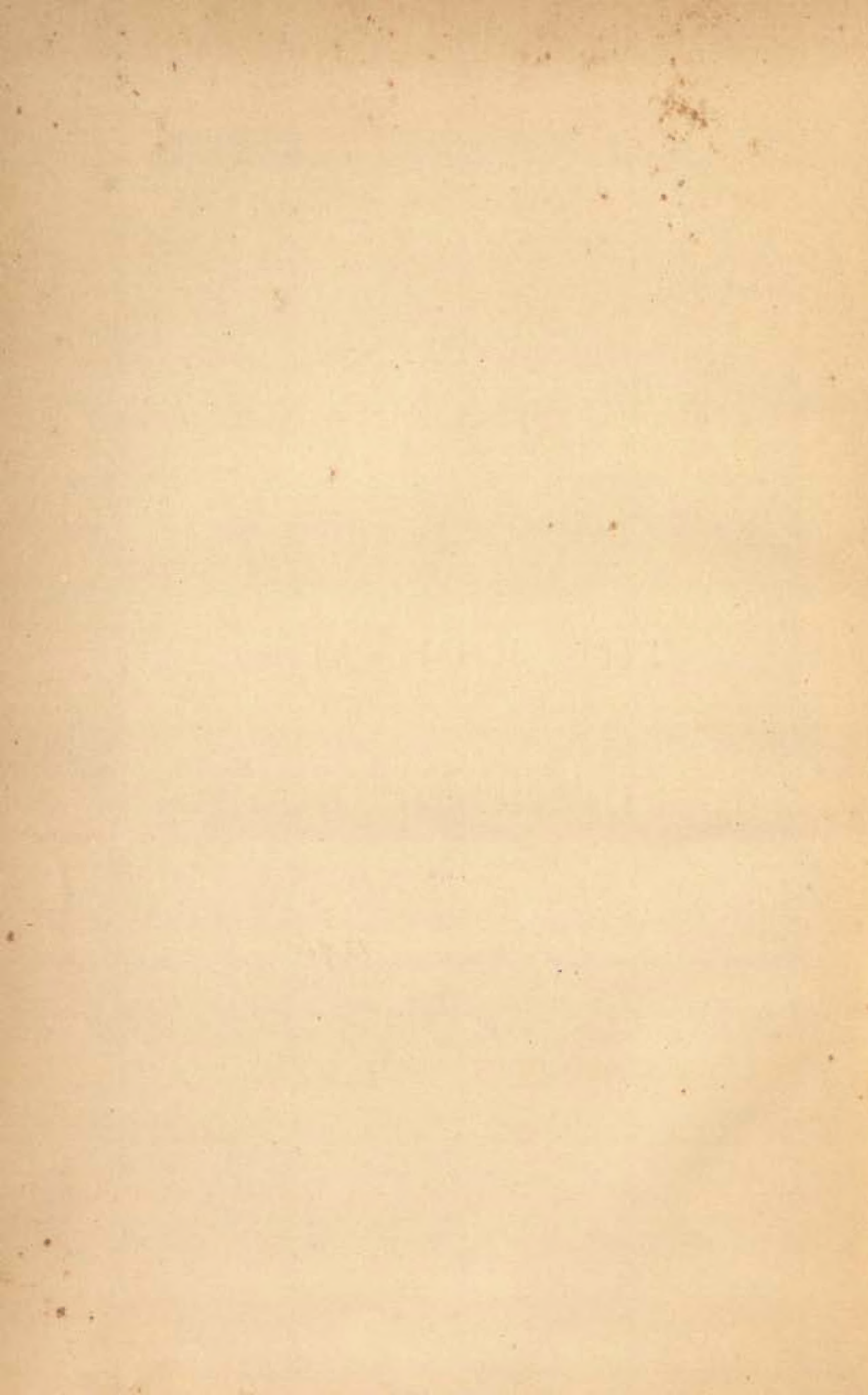












THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES







The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

# THE JOURNAL

OF

# HELLENIC STUDIES

25959

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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.



4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society; and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.



25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1894, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22, ALBEMARLE STREET.

---

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.



- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

---

*The Library Committee.*

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*Assistant Librarian*, MISS HUGHES, to whom, at 22, Albemarle Street applications for books may be addressed.

---

SESSION 1893—1894.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 P.M. on the following days :—

1893.

Monday, October 16.

1894.

Monday, February 19.

Monday, April 9.

Monday, June 18 (*Annual*).

The Council will meet at 4.30 p.m. on each of the above days.

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- The Library of St. Paul's School, *Kensington, W.*
- The London Library, *St. James's Square, London, S.W.*

- The Reform Club, *Pall Mall, London, S.W.*  
 The Royal Institution, *Albemarle Street, W.*  
 The Foreign Architectural Book Society (Charles Fowler, Esq.), 23, *Queen Anne Street, W.*  
 The Sion College Library, *Victoria Embankment, E.C.*  
 The Bibliothèque Universitaire, *Palais Saint Pierre, Lyons.*  
 The Library of the University of Wisconsin, *Madison, U.S.A.*, (E. F. Riley, Esq.)  
 The Whitworth Institute, *Manchester.*  
 The Chetham's Library, *Hunts Bank, Manchester.*  
 The Royal University Library, *Marburg.*  
 The Public Library, *Melbourne, Victoria.*  
 The Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, *Münster, I.W.*  
 The Royal Library, *Munich.*  
 The Archaeological Seminary, (Dr. Brunn), *Munich.*  
 The University Library, *Münster.*  
 The Newberry Library, *Newberry, U.S.A.*  
 The Library of Yale College, *Newhaven.*  
 The Astor Library, *New York.*  
 The Library of Columbia College, *New York.*  
 The Library of Hobart College, *Geneva, New York.*  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York.*  
 The Library of the College of the City of New York, *New York.*  
 The Sachs Collegiate Institute, *New York.*  
 The Library of Worcester College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Balliol College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Christchurch, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Exeter College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of St. John's College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of New College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Oriel College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of Queen's College, *Oxford.*  
 The Library of University College, *Oxford.*  
 The Union Society, *Oxford.*  
 The University Galleries, *Oxford.*  
 The Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque de l'Université de France, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Paris.*  
 The Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *Paris.*  
 The École Normale Supérieure, *Paris.*  
 The Library Company, *Philadelphia.*  
 The Vassar Library, *Poughkeepsie, N.Y.*  
 The Archaeological Seminary, *The University, Prague* (Dr. Wilhelm Klein).  
 The Library of Brown University, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*  
 The Rossall Library, *Rossall, Fleetwood* (the Rev. W. H. E. Worship).  
 The School Reading Room, *Rugby*, care of Mr. A. J. Lawrence.  
 The St. Louis Mercantile Library, *St. Louis, U.S.A.*  
 The Royal Library, *Stockholm* (Messrs. Samson & Wallin).  
 The Archaeological Museum, *The University, Strassburg* (per Prof. Michaelis)  
 The Imperial University and National Library, *Strassburg.*  
 The Free Library, *Sydney, New South Wales.*  
 The University Library, *Toronto.*  
 The General Assembly Library, *Wellington, N.Z.*  
 The Library, *Westminster School, S.W.*  
 The Boys' Library, *Eton College, Windsor.*  
 The Public Library, *Winterthur.*  
 The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Mass., U.S.*



LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE  
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The Transactions of the American School, *Athens*.  
 The Parnassos Philological Journal, *Athens*.  
 The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).  
 The Publications of the Archaeological Society, *Athens*.  
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Institute at *Athens*.  
 The Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, *Athens*.  
 Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.  
 The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, *Albemarle Street*.  
 The Jahrbuch of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, Cornelintrasse No. 2 II., *Berlin*.  
 The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *rue d'Ulm*).  
 The Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.  
 The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna*.  
 The Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.  
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Rome*.  
 The Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, published by the French School at *Rome*.  
 The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston, U.S.A.*  
 The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.  
 The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, and the Journal of Philology.  
 The Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.  
 The American Journal of Archæology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham), 29, *Cathedral Street, Baltimore, U.S.A.*  
 The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*  
 Mnemosyne (care of Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.  
 The Revue Critique et Littéraire, 66, *Rue de Vaugirard, Paris*.  
 The Revue de Philologie, 67, *Rue Richelieu, Paris*.  
 The Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.  
 Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum.  
 The Revue Byzantine.

JOURNALS, &c., SUBSCRIBED FOR.

- Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.  
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.  
 Neue Philologische Rundschau.  
 Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.  
 The Classical Review.

# ADDENDA

OF

## BOOKS, PERIODICALS, &c.

IN THE

### LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

JANUARY 1894.

- Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom K.D. Archäol. Institut. Vol. I. and Vol. II. Heft 1. Fol. Berlin. 1887-1892.
- Apollonios de Rhodes. Les Argonautiques, Traduction française par H. de la Ville de Mirmont. 8vo. Bordeaux et Paris. 1892.
- Aristophanes. The Wasps, with Introduction and Notes by W. W. Merry. Part 1. Introduction and Text. 8vo. Oxford. 1893.
- Aristophanes. Vespæ cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. van Leeuwen. Roy. 8vo. Lugduni-Bat. 1893.
- Aristotle. Constitution of Athens. Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, &c., by J. E. Sandys. 8vo. London and New York. 1893.
- Baedeker's Handbook of Greece. 8vo. Leipzig. 1894.
- Baumeister (A.). Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums, Lief. 1-66. 4to. München and Leipzig. 1884-1893.
- Beloch (E.). Griech. Geschichte. Vol. 1. 8vo.
- Bickford-Smith (R. A. H.). Greece under King George. 8vo. London. 1893.
- Bruchmann (C. F. H.). Epitheta Deorum quæ apud Poetas Graecos Leguntur. Imp. 8vo. Leipzig. 1893.
- Brunn (H.). Griechische Götterideale. Roy. 8vo. München. 1893.
- Brunn (H.). Griechische Kunstgeschichte. 1stes Buch. Die Anfänge und die Älteste decorative Kunst. Roy. 8vo. München. 1893.
- Curtius (E.). Stadtgeschichte der Athen. 8vo. Berlin. 1891.
- Curtius (E.) and Kaupert (J. A.) Karten von Attika. Text, 4to. Berlin. 1881-9. Atlas, Fol. Berlin. 1881-93.
- Dumon (K.). Ad Vitruvii v. 8, reprinted from Mnemosyne. Imp. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1892.
- Edmonds (Mrs.). Rhigas Pheraios the Protomartyr of Greek Independence. A Biographical Sketch. 8vo. London. 1890.
- Edmonds (Mrs.). Kolokotronēs Klepht and Warrior, translated from the Greek. Preface by Mons. J. Gennadius. 8vo. London. 1892.
- Engelmann (Dr. R.) and W. C. F. Anderson. Pictorial Atlas to Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. Fol. London. 1892.
- Freeman (E. A.). History of Sicily. Vols. I.-III. 8vo. London. 1891-2.
- History of Federal Government. Ed. Bury. 8vo. London. 1893.
- Furtwängler (A.). Meisterwerke der Griech. Plastik. 8vo. Berlin. 1893.
- Atlas of xxxii. Plates. Folio. 1893.
- Harrison (Miss J. E.). Introductory Studies in Greek Art. 2nd Edition. 8vo. London. 1892.



- Head (B. V.). Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia in the British Museum. 8vo. London. 1892.
- Helbig (W.). Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert. Imp. 8vo. Leipzig. 1887.
- Holm (Ad.). Griechische Geschichte. Vol. IV. 8vo. Berlin. 1894.
- Homer. The Iliad translated by J. G. Cordery. 8vo. London. 1892.
- Hymni Homerei. Codicibus denuo collatis recensuit A. Goodwin. Fol. Oxonii. 1893.
- Klein (W.). Euphronios. 8vo. Wien. 1886.
- Lang (A.). Homer and the Epic. 8vo. London and New York. 1893.
- Manitius (M.). Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen (bis 1300, Rheinisches Museum). 8vo. Frankfurt on Main. 1892.
- Meyer (Ed.). Forschungen zur alten Geschichte. 1ster Band. Zur älteren griechischen Geschichte. 8vo. Halle. 1892.
- Müller (Iwan von). Handbuch der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft. Imperial 8vo.  
 Vol. I. Einleitende und Hilfs-Disziplinen.  
 Vol. II. Griechische und Lateinische Sprachwissenschaft.  
 Vol. IV. 1. Die Griechischen Staats- und Rechts-altertümer von Dr. Georg Busolt.  
 2. Die Griech. Privat-altertümer und Kriegs-altertümer von Dr. I. von Müller and Dr. Adolf Bauer.  
 3. Die Römischen Staats- und Kriegs-altertümer von Dr. H. Schiller und die Römischen Privat-altertümer von Dr. M. Voigt.  
 Vol. V. 1. Geschichte der Antiken Naturwissenschaft und Philosophie von Dr. S. Günther and Dr. W. Windelband.  
 3. Die Griechische Kultus-altertümer von Dr. Paul Stengel und Das Bühnenwesen der Griech. und der Römer von Dr. Gustav Oehmichen.  
 Vol. VII. Griechische Litteraturgeschichte von W. Christ.  
 Vol. VIII. Römische Litteraturgeschichte von Dr. M. Schanz.
- Petrie (W. Flinders). Medum. 4to. London. 1892.
- Perrot (G.) and Chipiez (E.). L'Art dans l'Antiquité. Vols. III.-V. Paris. 1885-1890.
- Plato. The Dialogues translated with Analyses and Introduction by B. Jowett. 5 Vols. 3rd Ed. 8vo. Oxford. 1892.
- Poole (R. S.). Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes. 8vo. London. 1892.
- Ridgeway (W.). Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards. 8vo. Cambridge. 1892.
- Röscher (W. H.). Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie (continuing). Imp. 8vo. Leipzig. 1884-1893.
- Sepp (S.). Die Philosophische Richtung des Cornelius Celsus. 8vo. Freising. 1892.
- Smith (A. H.). Catalogue of Sculpture in the Greek and Roman Departments of the British Museum. 8vo. London. 1892.
- Smith (Sir W.), Wayte (W.) and Marindin (G. E.). Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Vol. IV. 8vo. London. 1891.
- Tozer (H. F.). Selections from Strabo. 8vo. Oxford. 1893.
- Wright (J. H.). The Date of Cylon. A Study in early Athenian History. 8vo. Boston. 1892.
- Herondaea. Pamphlet. 8vo. Boston. 1893.

## The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

### SESSION 1891-92.

THE first General Meeting was held on October 19th, 1891. Professor Jebb, M.P., President, in the chair.

Mr. Penrose read a paper 'On the Old Hecatompædon.' The object of the paper was to show that there was a temple named the Hecatompædon, which occupied the site of the present Parthenon, and that the great sub-basement wall on the south side of the Parthenon had formed part of it, and that this older Hecatompædon existed before the Persian invasion—an opinion which has been recently controverted by those who after Dr. Dörpfeld, had argued that the wall in question had been built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades. (See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xii. p. 275.)

Mr. Louis Dyer read a paper 'On the Vitruvian Account of the Greek Stage.' With the help of Fra Giocondo of Verona, Mr. Dyer had altered his view since, following Dumon and others, he had maintained that the Vitruvian account of the Greek stage was incomprehensible (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xii. p. 356).

The Second General Meeting was held on February 22nd, 1892. Professor Jebb, M.P., President, in the chair.

Professor Gardner read a paper 'On the Chariot Group of the Mausoleum,' adopting and enforcing the view of Stark and Wolters that the figures of Mausolus and Artemisia could not have stood in the great quadriga which surmounted the monument. The writer pointed out (1) that Pliny speaks only of a chariot, not of any person in it; (2) that there



are reasons both in custom and art why the chariot should be empty; (3) that in any case the two figures we possess could not have occupied the chariot, being far too small in proportion to the horses and the wheel of the chariot; (4) that their attitude is not that of persons driving horses, nor is their drapery at all moved by the wind which the chariot would meet; (5) that in the chariot they would be practically invisible from below, the monument being 140 feet high, and the heads of the statues almost on a level with those of the horses. The writer suggested that the chariot was a mere decorative architectural work, and that the two statues, by some great artist, stood inside the building (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 188).

Mr. A. S. Murray pointed out that the statues and the chariot came from the same bed of stone, and that a depression in the side of one of the figures seemed to have been intended to hold the rail of the chariot.

Mr. A. H. Smith and Dr. Perry also took part in the discussion.

After a reply from Professor Gardner, Mr. H. B. Walters read a paper 'On the Trident of Poseidon.' In accordance with the theory that many mythological difficulties might be explained as arising from decorative motives misunderstood or developed, the writer's object was to show that Poseidon's trident might be merely an evolution from a different form (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 13).

The Third General Meeting was held on April 11th, 1892, Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, V.P., in the chair.

The Rev. A. C. Headlam read a paper describing a very ancient Christian church situated at a place called Koja Kalessi, in the Byzantine province of Isauria, or Cilicia Trachea (*Supplementary Papers*, No. 2, 1893).

A discussion followed, in which the Greek Minister, Mr. H. H. Statham, Mr. R. W. Schultz, and others took part.

Mr. L. Dyer read a paper 'On the Intervention of Athena in Heroic Affairs,' which was in substance as follows: The poets yield a more consistent picture of Athena than of Zeus, Dionysus, or Artemis. Poetry and Philosophy, as well as Ritual, were members in which the spirit of Greek religion lived and moved, giving the power of growth—a power possessed in the highest degree by Poetry, and in the least degree by Ritual, which may, therefore, be called the skeleton of Greek religion. The Athena of local worship, in Attica and elsewhere, grew into the universal goddess of skill and resource in adventure and war. She showed men how to be themselves for good or for evil according to their character. The essentially spiritual quality of her intervention is shown in the first four books of the *Odyssey*, where she awakens and guides the mind of war and adventure in Telemachus, and appears as the spiritualized counterpart of Athena *κουροτρόφος*. If the first two books record his *Lehrjahre*, the third and fourth give his *Wanderjahre*. What Athena-Mentor and Telemachus say to each other may be regarded as a dramatization of the



boy's awakening to manhood, where his higher and heaven-descended self speaks with the heaven-sent voice of Athena. Mentor, as Mentor, does not concern the story at all, Fénelon's 'Télémaque' to the contrary notwithstanding. The goddess wears Mentor's shape like a loose garment about her, and he serves only to keep before us the reality of Athena's heavenly guidance. When there is a conflict between dramatic consistency and the essentially spiritual character of Athena's intervention, the former, not the latter, is sacrificed, as in the twenty-second Odyssey. There Athena-Mentor, having summoned Odysseus to stand by her and see what she can do, suddenly takes the shape of a swallow, and gives her promised aid by renewing Odysseus' courage, and by crazing the suitors' minds. The real nature of Athena's help to Odysseus is also shown elsewhere by the contrast between what it enabled him to do and the little he accomplished without it. He had recourse to Athena only once between his departure from Troy and his shipwreck in Phæacia. She prompted his clever escape from Polyphemus; elsewhere he invariably falls far below himself, showing bad generalship, bad seamanship, and finally incurring the displeasure of Æolus as one under the ban of Heaven. Space forbids further and detailed examination of Homer and the tragedians, or an account of the promptness of Athena-Nike in the career of Heracles. Everywhere she is consistently shown to represent the voice of wisdom in practical affairs. This is what Eustathius means by identifying her with *φρόνησις* or practical wisdom.

The Annual Meeting was held on June 20th, 1892. Professor Jebb, President, in the chair.

The following Report was read by the Hon. Secretary on behalf of the Council:—

The history of the Society during the past session has been marked by no striking event. As usual two parts of the *Journal* have been published and have contained excellent contributions upon various departments of Greek study.

The scheme mentioned in last year's Report for the loan of lantern slides to members lecturing on Greek archæology is now in working order, and has evidently given general satisfaction. It is proposed, as opportunity offers, to make additions to the collection of slides, so that in course of time it may be fairly complete in every department. And the Council are prepared to consider suggestions for making slides from any of the photographs which have been placed at their disposal, or to authorise members to have slides made on their own account. To these photographs some important additions have been made during the past year, including all Mr. Stillman's Athenian negatives (enlargements of some of which had previously been issued), a very fine collection of Greek subjects by Mr. J. L. Myres, and a very interesting series of views taken in Asia Minor, illustrating particularly the districts of the Seven Churches, by Mr. J. Trotman. To the series of enlargements made for the Society by the Autotype Co. have



been added twenty-four more from photographs by Mr. Walter Leaf, Mr. Elsey Smith, and Mr. Thacher Clarke. Of these two have been presented to the Society by Mr. Elsey Smith, while the rest were made at the cost of the Society. If the demand is sufficiently encouraging the Council hope to make still further additions to the list.

The School at Athens, to the support of which the Society contributes, has continued its excavations at Megalopolis, and it has been arranged that the full Report upon the theatre with careful plans prepared by Mr. R. W. Schultz shall be published by the Society in the course of the present year, not in the *Journal*, but separately on a somewhat larger scale. It is intended to include in the volume an illustrated article upon an extremely interesting Byzantine Church discovered by Messrs. Ramsay, Hogarth, and Headlam in Cilicia.

The Council made a grant of £25 in the spring of the present year towards the expenses of a journey to Greece, undertaken by Mr. F. C. Penrose with a view to completing his investigations on the subject of the orientation of Greek temples. The Council had previously supported an application made to the Royal Society for a grant in aid of the same work which resulted in the contribution of £100. The sum of £25 has also been promised to Mr. W. R. Paton towards some excavations he proposes to make in the autumn in the island of Cos upon what he believes to be the site of the Asclepieion.

Towards the end of 1891 Miss Gales resigned the office of Assistant-Librarian in consequence of her marriage, and Miss C. Hughes was appointed in her stead. In the course of the year the Library has been enriched by the addition of a considerable number of foreign archaeological books and pamphlets procured in exchange for three complete sets of the *Journal*. Another important contribution to the Library during the past year has been the addition, partly through exchange and partly through purchase, of some of the leading foreign philological journals. The need of some convenient centre where these could be consulted in London has long been felt, and although philology does not in itself occupy an important place in the Society's work, the Council thought that they would be consulting the interests of many members in making arrangements to add them to the Library. The list of new periodicals that may henceforth be referred to includes the 'Philologische Wochenschrift,' 'Rheinisches Museum für Philologie,' 'Neue Philologische Rundschau,' 'Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie,' 'Hermes,' 'Revue Byzantine,' and the 'Classical Review.'

The Treasurer's accounts show ordinary receipts during the year of £976 as against £898 during the financial year 1890-91. The subscriptions show a decrease of £31, and the receipts from Libraries and for back volumes an increase of £115. The receipts from Life Subscriptions show an increase of £47, and in respect of arrears £16 have been received, as compared with £39 last year. The receipts from dividends are slightly increased owing to a further sum of £100 having been invested since the last balance-sheet



was made up. Life Subscriptions to the amount of £126 have been received during the year ending May 31, 1892. The sale of back volumes during the year both to Libraries and to new members is particularly satisfactory, as tending to justify the expenditure on reprinting the two volumes (IV. and V.), without which complete sets of the *Journal* could not have been supplied. Four complete sets have been bought in the year, besides odd volumes.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, stationery, postage, and sundry printing show a decrease of £20. But the cost of the *Journal* exhibits an increase of £170, being £610, as compared with £440 during the preceding financial year. The difference is mainly accounted for by the increase of £140 in the cost of illustrations. The total ordinary expenditure has therefore been £767, as against £598. The financial year which began with a balance at the bankers of £254 12s. 0d. closes with an effective balance in favour of the Society of £239. This balance remains after making allowance for the grant of £100 to the School at Athens and of £25 to Mr. Penrose. There were on the 31st May arrears amounting to £170, of which £20 have been since received. The analysis of the annual receipts and expenditure for the last ten years is appended. (See pp. xlviii-ix.)

Since the last Annual Meeting 64 new Members have been elected. On the other hand by death or resignation, the Society has lost 33, showing a net increase of 31. The present total of members (including 20 Honorary Members) is 724. To the Subscribing Libraries 6 have been added, bringing the total to 107.

On the whole the Society may fairly congratulate itself upon a successful session. There has been a very satisfactory increase in the number of members. The *Journal* holds its own, while other departments of the Society's work, such as the collection and distribution of photographs and lantern slides have been developed to the manifest advantage alike of the Society and of individual members. For the more privileges the Society can offer to those interested in any department of Hellenic Study, the more support it can command. It follows that with the steady increase of members will increase the power of the Society to promote the objects it has in view, and the Council therefore once more urge upon all members the constant duty of bringing new recruits into the ranks. No more effective means can be taken to advance the cause which all have at heart.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The chairman referred briefly to the loss which the Society had sustained by the death of two of its vice-presidents, Sir W. Gregory and Professor Freeman, but did not consider that there had been any salient points in the progress of Hellenic studies during the year such as to afford material for the usual address from the chair. He therefore called upon Mr. Penrose to give some account of his researches into the orientation of Greek temples, and Mr. Bent to say something of his recent discoveries in South Africa.



At the usual ballot Professor Jebb was re-elected President, the former Vice-Presidents were re-elected, and Doctor E. Freshfield and Professor Stuart Poole were elected in place of Sir W. Gregory and Mr. Freeman. Mr. I. Bywater, Professor L. Campbell, Mr. H. G. Dakyns, Mr. F. G. Kenyon, Mr. R. A. Neil, and Miss Eugénie Sellers were elected to vacancies on the Council.

## SESSION 1892-93.

THE First General Meeting was held on October 17th, 1892, Professor Jebb, M.P., President, in the chair.

Miss Eugénie Sellers read a paper 'On some Early Homeric Vase-paintings,' being a description and discussion of three beautiful lekythoi found in the year 1888 at Eretria during the excavations carried on by the Greek Government, and now in the Central Museum at Athens (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 1).

Mr. Cecil Smith described the paper as full of valuable suggestion. In regard to the sirens in Greek art, he thought they were often confused with the harpies, and conjectured that the figures on the so-called Harpy Tomb in the British Museum were more probably sirens.

The Hon. Secretary read a paper by Mr. F. B. Jevons 'On Iron in Homer.' A detailed discussion of the passages in which iron is mentioned led to the following conclusions: (1) That it is absolutely opposed to the facts of the case to say that iron is more common in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, or in the later than in the older lays of the *Iliad*; (2) that the Homeric poems must be placed in the iron age, but at the very beginning of it; (3) that if Homer lived in the Mycenæan period iron must have been known in that period; and (4) that if iron was not known in that period, even the oldest lays must belong to a later date (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 25).

Sir Frederick Pollock congratulated the writer on the strong common sense which pervaded the paper. He had never doubted that Homer was written in the iron age. As to the distance between the Trojan War and the date of the Homeric poems, the writers made no claim to be describing contemporary events, but rather contrasted, on many occasions, the feats of the heroic age with the feats possible in their own time. He thought it possible that the constant reference to bronze as the material for weapons was conventional, and rather a survival of poetic tradition than an indication of what the poets themselves were familiar with.

Mr. Frank Carter made detailed reference to the various connexions in which iron was mentioned in Homer, and showed that in the *Iliad*, except in the case of metaphors or of obviously poetic descriptions, only small weapons were in question. He concluded that the poet of the *Iliad* regarded his readers as not acquainted with the working of iron in large



masses. On the other hand, he thought that the references in the *Odyssey* betokened a more general use of the metal in the writer's own time, and thus confirmed the theory of the later date of composition.

Mr. Leaf expressed his general approval of Mr. Jevons's paper, agreeing with him that the iron test could not safely be applied to separate the *Iliad* from the *Odyssey*, though two passages in the *Odyssey*—(1) *ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος*, where *σίδηρος* is used as a generic term for a weapon; and (2) the reference made to the tempering of iron—seemed to him to establish the fact of the *Odyssey* being later than the *Iliad*, in which no such passages could be found. As to the connexion of the subject with the discoveries at Mycenæ, he thought that the fact of no iron having been found in the shaft-graves went to show that these were earlier than the time of the Homeric poems, but he saw no reason to suppose that the poems were not therefore contemporary with the later Mycenæan period.

Sir C. Newton, Professor L. Campbell, and Mr. Penrose also contributed to the discussion.

The Second General Meeting was held on February 20th, 1893, Professor P. Gardner, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. A. H. Smith read a paper 'On Recent Additions to the Sculptures of the Parthenon.' The objects described by the author were: (1) The torso of a boy, recently identified by Herr Schwerzeck, as belonging to the west pediment. The writer pointed out some of the difficulties connected with Professor Furtwängler's theory that the group to which the torso belongs is Oreithyia with Zetes and Calais. (2) A lamp in the British Museum, hitherto unpublished, with a new rendering of the contest of Athene and Poseidon. (3) The head of a Lapith from one of the metopes. This head was found in the recent Acropolis excavations. It cannot be actually fitted to any of the metopes. (4) The head of Iris from the central slab of the east frieze. (5) A new fragment of the group of old men on the north frieze, in agreement with Carrey's drawing. (6) The upper half of the armed warrior who accompanies the first chariot on the north side. In connexion with this group the writer discussed the comparative merits of Stuart and Carrey, and pointed out that the extant remains of Stuart's papers (*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 22,152, 22,153) seemed to prove that the faults in Stuart's plates were largely due to the engravers. He called attention at the same time to a statement in the papers named that Stuart had given a volume of his drawings to Anthony Highmore, of Canterbury (1719-99), and suggested that if these papers could be traced they would probably be of value (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 88).

Mr. Cecil Smith read two papers, the first of which was entitled 'Harpies in Greek Art.' By a confusion of ideas it is still constantly asserted that the Greek harpy had sometimes the body of a bird, like a siren; this error has arisen from the fact that in the adaptation of Greek



myths to Roman ideas these two types in Roman times had exchanged rôles, the siren reappearing as a draped woman, the harpy as a bird-woman. Throughout Greek art proper the type of harpy is invariably a winged woman, and therefore the famous 'harpy tomb' from Xanthus is wrongly named; the bird-women on this tomb are really sirens, performing functions akin to those which we usually see on Greek sepulchral monuments (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 103).

Mr. Cecil Smith's second paper dealt with 'Deme-Legends on Attic Vases.' When, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., a Pan-Athenian genealogy was forming at Athens, the vast multiplicity of local and private cults became merged in the orthodox beliefs; but many a deme probably cherished quietly the remembrance of its local hero, and of these less-known cults we find traces, especially in the homely art of the vase-painter (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 115).

The Third General Meeting was held on April 10th, 1893, Mr. Sidney Colvin, V.P., in the chair.

Professor P. Gardner read a paper on 'Cacus on a Black-Figured Vase' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 70).

A discussion followed in which Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. Penrose, and the Chairman took part.

The Hon. Sec. read a paper by Herr J. Six on the Auræ (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xiii. p. 131).

Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. Colvin, Professor Gardner, and others took part in the discussion which followed.

The Annual Meeting was held on June 19th, 1893, Professor Lewis Campbell in the chair.

The following Report was read by the Hon. Sec. on behalf of the Council:—

The publications of the year have as a rule formed the subject of the opening paragraph of this Report. This year, instead of dwelling upon what has been published, the Council feel rather bound to offer an explanation for what has not been published. In last year's Report it was promised that in the course of 1892 would appear a full account of the excavations carried out upon the site of Megalopolis by members of the British School at Athens, and also an ordinary volume of the *Journal*, though a thinner one than usual. This plan has necessarily undergone modification in consequence of the unforeseen expansion of the Report on Megalopolis. The volume, which is just ready, will be found to contain an exhaustive treatment of the subject alike from the historical and the archaeological point of view, and the Council feel no doubt that members will be satisfied to accept it together with Mr. Headlam's paper already issued, in place of any *Journal* for 1892. In the meantime, as the publication of this Report was inevitably delayed, it was decided to push on the ordinary issue of the *Journal*, and the first Part of Volume XIII. was ac-



cordingly produced in April. To preserve the continuity of the series this volume is described as for 1892-93. With it was sent out a special monograph by Mr. A. C. Headlam on Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria, which suggests a very interesting development of the Society's work as illustrating the relations of Hellenic research with the early history of Christianity. This paper and the Report on Megalopolis have been issued in a larger form than the *Journal* to suit the size required for the illustrations. They constitute the first two numbers of a series of Supplementary Papers, to which additions may from time to time be made as occasion arises.

Before leaving the subject of the Society's Publications it will be proper to mention a change that has been made during the past year in the editorial arrangements. When the *Journal* was first started an Editorial Committee was appointed, consisting of Professor Jebb, Professor Percy Gardner, Mr. Bywater, and the late Professor Hort. Somewhat later another Committee was appointed to superintend the illustrations, in concert with the Editorial Committee. The members of this Committee were Mr. Colvin, Mr. Maunde Thompson, Mr. Arthur Smith, and Mr. Ernest Gardner, *ex officio*, as Director of the British School at Athens. In consequence of the difficulty of securing the personal conference of Editors living so far apart, the natural tendency of this arrangement was for the work of editing to fall in the main upon one member of the Committee, and, practically, for several years past Professor Gardner has borne nearly the whole of the responsibility. Last autumn he represented to the Council that since he had been living in Oxford he had found it very difficult to carry on the work to his satisfaction, with the numerous other claims upon his time. He therefore urged the appointment of one or more active colleagues resident in London. The suggestion was felt to be most reasonable, and the Council were fortunate enough to secure the help of Mr. Walter Leaf and Mr. Arthur Smith as Professor Gardner's colleagues on the Editorial Committee, while the remaining members of the former Editorial and Illustrations Committees were appointed a Consultative Committee to be referred to in all cases of difficulty. The Council feel assured that this new arrangement will lead to greater efficiency and promptitude in all matters relating to publication, while relieving Professor Gardner of an undue burden. The thanks of the Society at large will be heartily accorded, as those of the Council have already been accorded, to Professor Gardner for his invaluable services in the conduct of the *Journal* for a period of twelve years.

Special attention has been paid by the Council during the past year to the development of the Library. Various important additions have been made, chiefly of such books as members would be least likely to purchase for themselves. Among these may be mentioned the first volume of the Berlin collection of *Antike Denkmäler*, Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Roscher's *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*



(as far as published) ; Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Ancient Art*, Furtwängler's *Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, and Rayet and Collignon's *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque*. It may be added that, as the funds available for the purchase of books are not very large, donations of appropriate books would always be welcome. Within the last few months the opportunity offered itself and was accepted of placing the books in a more suitable room than that in which they have hitherto been kept. The change involves the expenditure of £80 per annum instead of £50 in rent, but after careful consideration the Council came to the conclusion that the additional expenditure was justified by the advantage of providing members with a room of sufficient size not only for the accommodation of more books, but to allow of their convenient use upon the spot. To this end two good tables, and an adequate number of chairs, have been procured, and the Council hope that members will now find that the Library is not only more comfortable, but in every way more useful than before. As this fact becomes known it is hoped that an increasing number of members will avail themselves of the advantages thus offered. When this new arrangement had been made, and the Society committed thereby to an increased annual expenditure, it appeared to the Council that the position of the Society, and the privileges enjoyed by its members, were now such as to justify the imposition of a small entrance fee. They therefore recommend that after January 1, 1894, all new members shall be called upon to pay an entrance fee of one guinea. If this step is taken, and does not materially check the flow of candidates (and the Council can hardly believe that it will), the additional rent should be rather more than covered.

As the Society has from the outset contributed to the support of the British School at Athens it will be of interest to members to know that the School has had another successful session. The number of efficient students has been above the average, the excavations at Megalopolis have been carried to a successful conclusion, and other important pieces of work have been done by students in Athens itself, which have borne or are likely to bear fruit in the form of papers in the Society's *Journal*. In this connexion reference may be made to Miss Sellers' paper on three Attic lekythi from Eretria, and to Mr. Bather's paper on the Bronze Fragments of the Acropolis, the beginning of which appeared in Volume XIII., Part I., together with the Director's annual report on Archaeology in Greece.

Additions have been made during the past year both to the collection of lantern slides available on loan to members of the Society for lecture purposes, and to the collection of photographs of Greek subjects which may be purchased by members at reduced prices. Special mention is due to a very valuable collection of slides presented by Miss Sellers, and to a smaller number presented by Mr. W. H. David. Many slides have been borrowed in the course of the year, and it seems evident that this branch of the Society's work has been of real use. The collection now includes



about 500, but it is still deficient in some important branches, and the Council would welcome any further donations, especially slides of objects in the British Museum.

In the course of March the Council were called upon to consider a scheme initiated by Mr. Churton Collins for the extension of the popular study of the Greek language. Though feeling that the movement was one that the Society might well encourage, the Council doubted whether any practical control or responsibility should be undertaken. In the event a Committee, consisting of Professor Jebb, the President of Magdalen, Mr. Leaf, Mr. Dakyns, Mr. Ely, Miss Harrison, and Mr. Macmillan, was appointed to confer with representatives of the University Extension bodies at Oxford, Cambridge, and in London, on the possibility of extending and developing the elementary study of Greek both in London and the provinces. This Committee is still sitting and the Council are as yet quite unable to say what the outcome will be, but it is at least interesting to note that the lectures on Greek Literature, Art, and History delivered under the various University Extension organizations have in some instances led to a desire to acquire a knowledge of the Greek language. All will agree that this desire should be satisfied, but it remains to be considered what are the best means of satisfying it without encouraging anything like desultory or purposeless study. The Council will probably have something to say on the subject in their next Report.

The Treasurer's Accounts show ordinary receipts during the year of £878, against £976 during the financial year 1891-92. The receipts from Subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £577 against £570. In view of the general depression of the times, which is known to be adverse to the interests of all societies in this respect, and also of the fact that only one number of the *Journal* was issued during the year, this result must be regarded as satisfactory. The receipts from Life Compositions amount to £95 against £126, a falling off of £31, and receipts from Libraries and for the purchase of back volumes to £161 against £233, a diminution of £72. Receipts from other sources of ordinary income show no material alteration.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, amounting to £858 against £992 in the previous year, there is an increase of £15 in respect of rent, of £5 in respect of Salaries, and of £30 in respect of Stationery, Printing, and Postage. The expenditure on the Library has been £41 against £8 in the preceding year. The cost of the *Journal*, including £258 3s. 6d. in respect of a considerable portion of the cost of the report just issued on the excavations at Megalopolis, has amounted to £532 against £610 for the year 1891-92.

No grants have been called for during the year, except that of £100 annually made to the British School at Athens, and a balance was carried forward at the end of the financial year of £259 2s. 7d. against £239 at the close of the preceding year. Since the close of the Society's financial year, the uninvested Life Subscriptions, amounting to £157 10s., have been



invested in the purchase of £157 10s. Nottingham 3 per cent. Corporation Stock.

Sixty-one new members have been elected during the year, while twenty-five have been lost by death or resignation. This shows a net increase of thirty-six and brings the total number of members up to 755.

Five new Libraries have joined the list of Subscribers, which now amount to 112.

On the whole the progress of the Society, both in regard to work done and to the increase of its members, has been as good as in any previous year. It is exactly fourteen years to-day since the inaugural meeting was held on June 19, 1879. Looking back over that period we have a right to feel that there has been a steady advance year by year towards the attainment of the objects which the Society was founded to promote. If all concerned display the same zeal and energy in the years to come as have been shown in the past, the prosperity and efficiency of the Society would seem to be assured.

The adoption of the Report was moved by the Chairman, who, after regretting the enforced absence of Professor Jebb, the President of the Society, touched on some of the matters dealt with in the Report.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Waldstein, who spoke in high terms of the work done by the Society, and especially of the efficient way in which its publications had been conducted. The Report was unanimously adopted.

On the motion of Dr. Sandys, seconded by Mr. Wayte, a resolution was carried authorizing the imposition of the entrance fee recommended by the Council.

Mr. Ernest Gardner gave a brief outline of the recent work of the British School at Athens, and also of the chief discoveries of the year in Greece, especially those of Dr. Waldstein at the Heræum, of the French at Delphi, and of Dr. Dörpfeld in Athens. He dwelt upon the invaluable aid rendered to the School by the Society, not only through the annual grant, but also by the abundant facilities afforded for the publication of the researches of its students.

The Hon. Secretary made a short statement as to a proposed scheme of excavation in Alexandria.

Mr. Theodore Bent gave some account of his recent discoveries in Abyssinia, which seemed to establish the fact of Greek influence brought to bear upon a Sabæan race worshipping the sun.

Professor Jebb was re-elected President, and the former Vice-Presidents were also re-elected, except that Professor L. Campbell and Rev. Dr. Holden were elected in place of Sir W. Geddes and Mr. W. L. Newman. The following were elected to vacancies on the Council, viz., Mr. B. Bosanquet, Lady Evans, Mr. F. B. Jevons, Professor W. Ridgeway, Mr. R. W. Schultz, and Professor W. Wyse.

“THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES” ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY, 1891.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Sales of Journal, July 1, 1889, to June 30, 1890	74	3	11			
“ Balance, to Cash Account	439	14	3			
				513	17	14
By Vol. N. Printing (including Carriage)				275	9	11
“ “ Plates				23	0	6
“ “ Drawing and Engraving				84	9	0
“ “ Paper				40	1	0
“ Contributions				173	10	8
				35	7	6

£513 18 2

£513 18 2

CASH ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at 31st May, 1890	250	19	2			
Less Grant to the British School, Athens	100	0	0			
T. Members' Subscriptions, 1890-1891	984	18	0	190	19	2
“ “ Life Subscriptions	78	15	0	6	13	0
“ “ Subscriptions, 1889-1890	32	11	6			
“ “ Arrears	6	6	0			
“ “ Back Volumes	30	9	0	69	6	6
“ “ Library Subscriptions, 1890-1891	77	14	0			
“ “ Back Volumes	10	10	0	88	4	0
“ Dividends on New South Wales 3½ per cent. Stock, Oct. 1, 1890	17	11	5			
“ “ April 1, 1891	17	11	5			
“ Sophocles MSS. Sales	35	2	10			
“ Royalty on Sales of Photographs	36	10	10			
	5	7	0			
				£1,049	12	4
To Balance at Bankers, 31st May, 1891				£534	27	7

£1,049 12 4

We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers and Bankers' book, and find it correct.

JOHN B. MARTIN, *Secy. Treasurer.*

(DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, } Auditors.  
{ ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER, }  
19th June, 1891.



A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of previous years is furnished by the following tables :—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ 472	£ *589	£ *679	£ *549	£ 532	£ 537	£ 539	£ 545	£ 532	£ 535
Arrears . . . . .	211	...	...	...	12	35	41	32	26	39
Life Compositions . . . . .	...	...	...	115	10	95	79	47	47	79
Libraries and Back Vols. . . . .	19	87	97	133	126	156	169	122	96	118
Dividends . . . . .	...	12	13	14	17	20	30	33	34	35
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bent . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	...
Sir C. Nicholson . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	...
Laurentian MS. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	53	31	11	37
Royalty on Sales of Photo- graphs . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Loan from Bankers . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...
Donation—James Vansittart, Esq. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...
	702	£87	789	802	697	888	861	910	846	895
Balance from preceding year	873	664	993	901	879	622	499	255	42	151
	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,360	1,165	888	1,046

\* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.
Rent . . . . .	£ 25	£ 12	£ 25	£ 25	£ 12	£ 42	£ 45	£ 30	£ 30	£ 30
Insurance . . . . .	...	...	...	2	3	2	3	5	13	11
Salaries . . . . .	20	10	10	20	21	41	46	39	39	39
Library . . . . .	11	5	44	3	...	4	41	15	2	16
Stationery, Printing, and Postage . . . . .	32	44	35	52	62	68	54	61	55	62
Cost of Journal (less sales) . . . . .	383	284	592	574	482	412	583	*873	397	440
Grants . . . . .	20	...	50	†145	150	150	350	100	†100	150
Investments . . . . .	388	...	105	...	220	300	...	...	...	40
Loan Repaid . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	101	...
Sundries . . . . .	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	...	...	...
	911	358	881	824	954	1,021	1,095	1,123	737	794
Balance . . . . .	664	993	901	879	622	499	255	42	151	255
	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165	888	1,049

\* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (=£437) less the amount received from sales.

† Includes advance of £25 for printing Sophocles MS.

‡ The grant of £100 to the School of Athens has been paid since the accounts were made up; see Cash Account.

"THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY, 1892.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Sales of Journal, July 1, 1890, to June 30, 1891	53	15	3				301	10	2
" Balance, to Cash Account			610	9	8		185	14	5
							410	2	3
By Vol. XII, Printing (including Carriage)							57	11	10
" Plates									
" Drawing and Engraving									
" Paper									
" Contributions							655	4	11
							9	0	0

£664 4 11

£664 4 11

CASH ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at 31st May, 1891				254	10	7			
To Members' Subscriptions, 1891—1892				510	10	0			
Life Subscriptions				120	6	0			
" " Subscriptions, 1889—1890							645	16	0
" " Arrears				34	13	0			
" " Back Volumes				15	15	0			
" " " " " "				33	18	0			
Library Subscriptions, 1891—1892				165	7	6			
" " Back Volumes				34	13	0			
Dividends on New South Wales 3½ per cent. Stock, Oct. 1, 1891				17	11	5			
" " April 1, 1892				19	6	11			
Royalty on Sales of Photographs							35	18	4
Lantern Slides Account							4	13	0
Donation, Library (Mrs. Cohen)							3	15	5
							1	5	0
							£1,231	9	10
To Balance at Bankers, 31st May, 1892							£238	10	11

£1,231 9 10

We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers and bankers' book, and find it correct.  
JOHN B. MARTIN, *Hon. Treasurer.*  
DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, }  
ARTHUR JOHN EUTLER, } Auditors  
14th June, 1892.



A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ 539	£ 679	£ 540	£ 532	£ 537	£ 534	£ 543	£ 532	£ 585	£ 554
Arrears . . . . .	—	—	—	12	35	41	32	26	39	16
Life Compositions . . . .	—	—	115	10	95	79	47	47	72	226
Libraries and Book Vols. .	87	97	123	126	156	119	122	96	113	223
Dividends . . . . .	12	13	14	17	20	39	33	34	35	27
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bent . . . . .	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	—
Mrs. Cohen (Library) . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Sir C. Nicholson . . . .	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—
Laurentian MS. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	53	31	14	37	—
Loan of Lantern Slides .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Royalty on Sales of Photog- raphs . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Loan from Bankers . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	—
Donation—James Vansittart, Esq. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—
	687	782	802	697	888	861	910	845	893	976
Balance from preceding year	664	993	901	879	622	489	225	42	151	255
	1,351	1,775	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,135	887	1,044	1,231

\* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.
Rent . . . . .	£ 12	£ 25	£ 25	£ 11	£ 42	£ 15	£ 30	£ 30	£ 30	£ 35
Insurance . . . . .	—	—	2	3	2	3	5	13	11	11
Salaries . . . . .	10	10	20	23	41	46	39	39	37	44
Library . . . . .	5	44	3	—	4	41	15	2	16	3
Stationery, Printing, and Postage . . . . .	44	55	52	62	64	54	61	55	62	41
Cost of Journal (less sales).	234	522	274	482	412	582	*273	297	440	610
Grants . . . . .	—	50	†145	150	150	350	200	†190	150	425
Investments . . . . .	—	105	—	220	700	—	—	—	46	100
Loan Repaid . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	101	—	—
Photo Enlargements and Albums	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Sundries . . . . .	3	2	3	2	2	3	—	—	—	—
	353	881	824	954	1,001	1,095	1,123	737	794	692
Balance . . . . .	993	601	879	622	489	225	42	151	255	270
	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165	888	1,049	1,232

\* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

† Includes advance of £95 for printing Sophocles MS.

‡ The grant of £100 to the School at Athenæ has been paid since the accounts were made up; see Cash Account.

“THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES” ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MAY, 1893.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Sales of Journal, July 1, 1891, to June 30, 1892	70	6	3	109	1	0
“ Balance, to Cash Account	532	2	6	43	14	0
				77	1	9
				15	17	6
				9	7	6
				253	1	9
By Vol. XIII, Pt. I, Printing (including Carriage)						
“ “ Plates				43	5	6
“ “ Drawing and Engraving				8	15	0
“ “ Paper				34	9	6
“ “ Contributed				7	13	6
				91	3	6
Excavations at Megalopolis—						
Printing				100	0	0
Plates				112	2	0
Drawing and Engraving				43	16	6
				255	3	6
				£503	8	9

CASH ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at 31st May, 1892	238	10	11			
To Members' Subscriptions, 1892—1893	564	19	0			
“ “ Life Subscriptions	94	10	0	659	2	0
“ “ Subscriptions, 1891—1892	5	5	0			
“ “ Arrears	7	7	0			
“ “ Back Volumes	25	0	0	38	13	0
“ “ Library Subscriptions, 1892—1893	104	0	0			
“ “ Back Volumes	31	10	0	135	10	0
“ Dividends on New South Wales 2½ per cent. Stock,						
“ “ Oct. 1, 1892	19	6	11			
“ “ April 1, 1893	19	6	11	38	13	10
Loan of Lantern Slides	3	15	9			
Royalty on Sales of Photographs	2	2	0	2	2	0
				£3,116	7	6
To Balance at Bankers, 31st May, 1893				£359	2	7

We have examined this account, compared it with the vouchers and bankers' book, and find it correct.

DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, Auditor.  
(ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER, 16th June, 1893.)

JOHN E. MARTIN, Hon. Treasurer.



A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ *679	£ *543	£ 530	£ 537	£ 537	£ 545	£ 532	£ 535	£ 554	£ 564
Arrears . . . . .	—	—	12	35	41	52	20	39	16	13
Life Compositions . . . . .	—	115	10	95	79	47	47	72	125	95
Libraries and Back Vols. . . .	57	133	126	156	119	122	96	115	231	161
Dividends . . . . .	12	14	17	20	30	31	34	35	37	39
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bent . . . . .	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mrs. Cohen (Library) . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
Sir C. Nicholson . . . .	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laurentian MS. . . . .	—	—	—	—	53	31	21	37	—	—
Loan of Lantern Slides . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
Royalty on Sales of Photo- graphs . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	2
Loan from Bankers . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	—	—
Donation—James Vansittart Esq. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—	—
	780	802	677	683	861	910	846	895	976	873
Balance from preceding year	991	901	879	622	489	215	42	151	255	239
	1,771	1,703	1,556	1,305	1,350	1,125	888	1,046	1,231	1,112

\* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.	31 May, 1891.	31 May, 1892.	31 May, 1893.
Rent . . . . .	£ 25	£ 25	£ 12	£ 40	£ 15	£ 30	£ 30	£ 30	£ 55	£ 50
Insurance . . . . .	—	2	3	2	3	5	13	11	11	12
Salaries . . . . .	10	20	23	41	46	39	39	39	44	49
Library . . . . .	44	3	—	4	41	15	2	16	8	41
Stationery, Printing, and Postage . . . . .	53	52	62	68	54	61	58	63	41	71
Cost of Journal (less sales) . .	592	374	402	412	583	*273	397	440	610	550
Grants . . . . .	50	†145	120	150	350	100	†100	150	†25	100
Investments . . . . .	105	—	220	300	—	—	—	45	100	—
Loan Repaid . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	101	—	—	—
PhotoEnlargements and Albums	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	4
Sundries . . . . .	2	3	2	2	3	—	—	—	—	—
	881	824	954	1,022	1,095	1,121	737	774	990	858
Balance . . . . .	901	873	622	482	215	42	151	255	239	239
	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,310	1,163	888	1,029	1,229	1,117

\* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (=£437) less the amount received from sales.

† Includes advance of £95 for printing Sophocles MS.

‡ The grant of £100 to the School of Athens has been paid since the accounts were made up: see Cash Account.

### THREE ATTIC LEKYTHOI FROM ERETRIA.

[PLATES I, II, AND III.]

THE three lekythoi with black figures on a white ground, now published for the first time on Plates I, II, and III., were found in 1888 in the excavations carried on by the Greek Government on the site of the ancient Eretria. They are now in the Central Museum at Athens, and have been catalogued and briefly described by M. Staes in the *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν* for 1889 (pp. 99 and 139).<sup>1</sup> The vases are of almost unique interest: two of them belonging to the cycle of the adventures of Odysseus, subjects from which have proved so curiously rare in vase-painting, while the third gives an episode in the story of Herakles and Atlas, of which the solitary monumental instance up to now had been the famous metope of Olympia (Friederichs-Wolters, 280). The beauty of the vases, the perfect state of their technique and of their preservation, no less than the interesting problems connected with mythography which they raise, have already won for them considerable celebrity; I therefore wish to record my special thanks to the Ephors of Antiquities in Athens for allowing me the publication of the vases—so graciously accorded to me during my studentship at the British School at Athens in 1891. Mr. Ernest Gardner, Director of our School, had the kindness to supervise the drawings which have been executed by M. Gilliéron. It had been my intention to make the publication of these lekythoi the occasion for a discussion of white-faced ware in connection with the whole subject of Greek painting proper, but I have unfortunately been prevented from collecting the necessary material in time for the present number of the *Journal*. Since however the editors have naturally wished that vases of such artistic and archaeological importance should be made known with as little delay as possible, I have acceded to their wish so far as to give a provisional publication accompanied by a short description of each vase.

<sup>1</sup> See also S. Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, 1890, pp. 635 and 636, and Max. Mayer in *Athen. Mittheil.* 1891, pp. 305 and 308.



## I.—PLATE I. ODYSSEUS AND THE SIRENS (Athens Centr. Mus., Invent. 966).

This lekythos, 31 m. (a little over 12½ in.) high, differs slightly from the Attic lekythos of a later period in having a broader aperture and somewhat shorter neck. The vase still lacks the slim stateliness of its fifth century successors.<sup>2</sup> Mouth, neck, and the lower portion of the body, are covered with black lustrous varnish; the original clay shows on the shoulder, on the rim of the aperture, and on the vertical rim of the foot. The remaining portion of the body (about two-thirds) is covered with a light engobe of yellowish tint. The shoulder is decorated by a delicate pattern of palmettes, surmounted by a band of rays where the shoulder joins the neck.



The main picture is framed at the top by a pattern of alternating dots<sup>3</sup> between double lines,<sup>4</sup> at the bottom by a straight black line forming the

<sup>2</sup> On the Attic 'provenance' of these Eretria lekythoi see Weisshäupl's article 'Attische Grablekythos,' *Athen. Mitth.* 1890, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> These rows of dots are on the whole rare on this class of lekythoi; the pattern most generally found is the simple meander, or the meander alternating with crosses (cf. Max. Mayer, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1891, p. 309).

<sup>4</sup> For the ingenious mechanical contrivance by which the potters probably produced the straight lines which occur so invariably on lekythoi at the bottom and the top of the main picture, see E. Pottier, *Étude sur les lécythes blancs d'Attique*, p. 95, and further the suggestive remarks of E. Durand-Gréville, 'De la cou-

leur du décor des vases Grecs' (*Rev. Archéologique*, 1892, p. 19 f.). The potter, it seems, presented a brush charged with paint to the lekythos, which was made to revolve on the wheel. On the Siren vase it should be noticed that on the left of the Ionic column, above the dots, only a single line appears, while there are double lines on the right. Just at the top of the capital on the right we can clearly see the little upward movement which the potter imparted to his brush so that the lower line might not interfere with the capital: when he got to the other side he apparently could not resume the right position and the lines ran together.



ground on which the picture rests. A purple line drawn parallel to this black line separates the figured portion of the body from the black varnish. The colours employed besides the black, the natural tone of the clay, and the yellowish engobe already noted, are the familiar metallic purple of the ordinary B.F. technique, and a second lighter engobe, used for the flesh parts of the Sirens and for certain accessory details. This white colour, according to the distinctively Attic method, is laid on a background of black varnish.

In the centre of the design we have Odysseus bearded: he wears a petasos trimmed with beads (lighter engobe), and a short white tunic reaching about mid-thigh; its whiteness is rendered by the lighter engobe, and its dainty folds are indicated by incised wave-lines which bring back the colour of the original clay.<sup>5</sup> The hero has his hands tied behind his back to an Ionic column. On either side of this central figure is a Siren, with human face, neck and hands, perched on a rock. The Siren on the right plays the double flute, her bird body is rendered with some attempt at truth and realism. The Siren on the left plays the lyre; her wings are rendered more conventionally, and are of the high curled type known as 'Assyrian.' Both have long hair escaping from a purple fillet; the Siren on the right wears over her forehead the little tight ringlets so familiar in archaic art, while her companion has her hair parted and waved to each side; the human arms of the Sirens are clearly indicated from the shoulder instead of only beginning at the elbow as is usually the case on vases. The black rocks on which the Sirens perch are relieved by touches of white. From each rock springs inwards towards the centre a branch of conventional foliage. The space between Odysseus and the rocks is further filled up on each side by a dolphin plunging into the sea, which plays about the feet of Odysseus and is realistically rendered by horizontal strokes of the brush on the creamy ground.<sup>6</sup> *The ship of Odysseus is not indicated.* That the sea-faring hero should be represented without his good ship, the *νηὺς εὐεργής* which was to take him past the island 'of the Sirens twain,' is a phenomenon which can only be explained by trying to discover whether a type already current in art was not borrowed from some other legend and made to do service for that of Odysseus and the Sirens also. In effect, we recognize at once in the bound figure a variant of the figure of Prometheus bound to the column as he appears on a fine cup of the Cyrenaean class (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 86; Baumeister, *Denk.* fig. 1567). The Cyrene cup however scarcely takes us back to the fundamental or primitive type. For it we must turn to another cup of the same class, the cylix in the Louvre (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 4, Puchstein, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, pl. xii., Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 14), showing a seated figure faced by a large bird. This design, long interpreted as Pro-

<sup>5</sup> M. Staes in describing the vase (*Δελφικόν*, 1889, p. 99) suggested, unnecessarily I think, that the wave-lines were *πρὸς δῆλωσιν τῆς ἐκ μαλλίου κατασκευῆς αὐτοῦ*.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Cecil Smith kindly informs me by letter that the 'same unusual rendering of the

sea is found on a fragment of early sixth century (Asiatic?) ware in the British Museum from Naukratis, B 103<sub>12</sub>; the vase represented apparently Odysseus (*in his ship*) passing the Sirens' (*Class. Rev.* 1888, p. 263).



metheus and his vulture, has been lately claimed by Dr. Studniczka (*loc. cit.*), on the analogy of certain Arkadian coins, for Zeus and his eagle. In this he had been partially anticipated by M. Rayet, who also suggested as an alternative that the vase possibly only represented 'un devin interrogeant le vol des oiseaux' (*Céramique Grecque*, p. 85). The design on this Louvre cup seems actually due to the mere decorative juxtaposition of a seated man as we know him on some of the island gems,<sup>7</sup> and of a bird brought in to fill up the space. We have in fact here the original from which were to be derived respectively the types of *Zeus and his eagle*, of *Prometheus and his vulture*, and ultimately of *Odysseus and his Siren*. That this type must have existed from the highest antiquity is shown by another island gem from Krete where it is already adapted to the legend of Prometheus.<sup>8</sup> The figure is seated with the hands just tied behind the back—the artist only slowly introduced the new element of the column. On the Gerhard Cyrenaean cup he appears tied to the pillar; it is obvious that his pose is undergoing a slow evolution; he is no longer seated as on the gem, but he is in an uncomfortable slippery posture between standing and sitting, which can only be accounted for by the fact that an artist will do any violence to the representation of his story, rather than bring himself too quickly to alter the type which he finds ready to his hand. Probably the posture was partly necessitated by the exigences of the circular field to be decorated.<sup>9</sup> From this Prometheus figure to the Odysseus of our lekythos is but a step. The bound figure has been finally straightened and placed close to the pillar; possibly the shape of the vase dictated the change of posture, the tendency shown by painters of *lekythoi* to fill up the central space by a figure occupying it fully from top to bottom being well known (cf. also Plate II.).

The Sirens on our vase are two in number, contrary to other Greek monuments where they almost invariably appear as three (see J. Bolte, *de Mon. ad Odysseam pertinentibus*, p. 29). After the freedom of treatment of the central scene, it will not be thought that the number two is a conscious illustration of the Homeric 'Sirens twain' (*νήσους Σειρήνων*, *Od.* xii. 167). The second Siren of the lekythos is probably due to a mere desire for decorative symmetry. The art form of these Sirens was borrowed from the funeral vases and other monuments where the Siren perches with her musical instruments on the tomb, as on a lekythos with white ground in the British Museum (Catalogue B 651, Schrader, *Die Sirenen*, p. 91, J. E. Harrison in *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, p. 584).<sup>10</sup> This adaptation,

<sup>7</sup> *Br. Mus. Catal.* 98, described by Mr. A. H. Smith as 'two male figures seated to right,' Milchhoefer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup> Milchhoefer, *loc. cit.* p. 185. Dr. Milchhoefer was the first to point out the intimate typological connection between Cyrenaean vases and the island gems.

<sup>9</sup> The same figure of a man bound to a column occurs on the inside of a Phoenician bowl (Perrot, iii. p. 759, fig. 543), noted by Mr.

Cecil Smith (*J.H.S.* xi. p. 179) as affording a link between the Cyrenaean ware (and through it the Protokorinthian ware) and 'the mixed Egypto-Assyrian art which we associate with Phoenicia.' Cf. further the Lamia bound to a palm-tree, and tortured by Satyrs, on a lekythos of this same Eretria series, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1891, pl. IX.

<sup>10</sup> Further instances in Schrader's lists, p. 86, 87 (statuary), p. 91 (vases). Occasionally one



it should be noted, would occur very naturally to a painter of vases for funeral usage.

The only other *undoubted* representation of the myth of Odysseus and the Sirens occurs on a fine R.F. stamnos in the British Museum (Old Catalogue 785, Bolte *loc. cit.* p. 26). It differs from that of Plate I. in two essential points: 1. The Sirens *appear as three*; one perches on each of the high projecting rocks which frame the composition on either side, while a third is apparently precipitating herself into the sea in front of Odysseus. Mr. Cecil Smith has suggested that in the intention of the vase-painter the Sirens are still only two—according to the traditional number in *art*—the presence of a third Siren being, he thinks, due to a desire to give expression to two consecutive moments of the same story: the artist gives us first the Siren perched on the rocks, in the next instant he depicts her despair at the failure of her song, as *with closed eyes* she hurls herself into the sea.<sup>11</sup> 2. On the stamnos Odysseus *is bound to the mast of his ship*, which appears with its full equipment of oarsmen, &c. If we are, as I believe, justified in considering the lekythos on Plate I. to give the original art form of the myth, it would appear that this primitive composition was in time combined with another class of representations which readily came to hand, namely those of ships, long friezes of which had been a favourite decoration of Greek vases from the very earliest times (cf. Loeschke in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 51, also J. E. Harrison in *J.H.S.* vi. p. 19).<sup>12</sup> It was this *contaminatio* between the two familiar art types of the racing ship and the man tied to the pillar which, by restoring to the sea-faring hero his good ship, his *νήὺς εὐεργής*, created the beautiful composition of the British Museum stamnos.

Whereas, as we have seen, there is an intimate connection to be established between the typology of this vase and that of two Cyrenaean vases, there is on the other hand a decided affinity between its polychrome

or more Sirens perch on a rock—sometimes with a dolphin below, e.g. on a B.F. oinochoe (B 510) in the Brit. Museum (Bolte, p. 30, n. 66), but these Sirens, I fancy, are merely borrowed or repeated from some such picture as the one on the lekythos.

<sup>11</sup> This observation, made by Mr. Cecil Smith when I submitted the drawings of the vases to the Hellenic Society, Oct. 24, 1892, is quoted here by his permission.

<sup>12</sup> It seems doubtful whether the fine Louvre cylix by Nikosthenes (Klein, *Meistersig.* No. 69, p. 69), published by Miss Harrison (*loc. cit.* pl. XLIX.), must not, in spite of her arguments to the contrary, still be considered to represent Odysseus and the Sirens. Loeschke (*loc. cit.*) had well pointed out that it would precisely be in the manner of a rapid and careless draughtsman like Nikosthenes to be content to *indicate* the story in his mind, by merely adding a decorative Siren to the motive of the racing ships, without attempting any further elaboration.

Other vase-painters also seem satisfied with the simple suggestion of an episode, e.g. on a newly-acquired B.F. skyphos from Boeotia in the Berlin Museum (pointed out to me by Dr. Furtwaengler) the frieze of three Sirens perched on rocks which decorates the reverse must have reference to the adventure of Odysseus (although neither the hero nor the ship is depicted), seeing that the obverse of the vase represents the adventure of Odysseus in the cave of Polyphemos.—It would seem that in time the influence of the racing ships made it necessary to call in other ship adventures for Odysseus, in addition to that of the Sirens. Thus on the Calene cup of the Berlin Museum (Baumeister, p. 1606, fig. 1675) we get the ship of Odysseus in scenes relating to the Sirens, Scylla and Polyphemos. Cf. the obsidian panel acquired by the Brit. Museum in 1887 (*Class. Rev.* 1887, p. 250) with a relief which may be Odysseus in his ship mocking Polyphemos.



technique and that of the Naukratite fabrics. The employment of the two shades of a pale yellow engobe for the ground and for the flesh parts of the Sirens respectively recalls forcibly the fine fragment from Naukratis in the British Museum published by Mr. Ernest Gardner (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 119, pl. LXXIX.), where a Sphinx, the human portions of whose figure are rendered in white, appears on a ground of delicate cream tint. The lekythos on Plate I., together with the fact that a fragment of undoubted Naukratite ware has been discovered in the pre-Persian stratum of the Akropolis (*J.H.S.* x. p. 269, E. Gardner), leaves little doubt that the white-faced ware owed its introduction into Attica about the middle of the sixth century to the influence of models brought from the North-African fabrics (cf. Rayet and Collignon, p. 215). The fashion of covering the terra-cotta vases with a whitish slip had been familiar from the very beginnings of Greek art (*e.g.* in the Mycenaean ware); but it was only when introduced by the Greeks into their colonies of Egypt that the ware under the influence of Egyptian wall-paintings became itself a kind of miniature wall-painting, to the preservation of which we owe most of our knowledge of Greek *pictura* proper, and of its connections with the art of foreign countries. This vase on Plate I. seems to confirm in a most satisfactory manner the view so ably advocated by M. Pottier ('un Sarcophage de Clazomènes,' *B.C.H.* 1890, pl. II. pp. 377 to 382)—that the technique of vases on white ground had an origin and a development totally independent from that of the ordinary black and red ware.

NOTE.—For the sake of completeness I may mention here in connection with Plate I. another representation of Odysseus and the Sirens, which I believe has until now passed unnoticed. It occurs on a late Italian terra-cotta mould in the Naples Museum. Prof. W. C. F. Anderson, who discovered it there this summer, has kindly sent me a plaster impress of the mould. It is .15 m. high; though the right side is broken off, a little more than half the scene has been preserved. In the centre we have the ship of Odysseus with full equipment of oarsmen; Odysseus—much larger than his men—is bound to the mast, against the sail which is unfurled and forms a background to his head; behind the sail appears a Siren (turned full to the front), visible only from the waist upwards (draped?); to the left, on rocky ground, another Siren, playing the lyre, human body from waist upwards; below, bird body, large wings. If the mould were not broken we should doubtless have a third Siren on the right. Dr. Furtwaengler has kindly pointed out to me two other moulds of the same class in the Berlin Antiquarium: 1. reproduces the *identical* scene of the Naples mould; it is slightly smaller, also broken; 2. gives the *blinding of Polyphemus* rendered with great detail. It seems probable that many of these moulds are scattered about different museums. They promise to afford a new and interesting series of scenes from the *Odyssey*.



## II.—PLATE II. ODYSSEUS AND KIRKE (Athens Centr. Mus., Invent. 1003).

The lekythoi on Plates II. and III. were found in the same grave. They are so intimately connected in technique, shape, and decoration, that they seem to be products of one workshop. Each measures .29 m. (a little over 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.) in height. Black varnish and white engobe are distributed as on the former vase; the palmette decoration recurs on the shoulders. The main picture is in both cases framed by a pattern running between double lines and composed of two maeanders alternating with a cross enclosed in a rectangle. The black and the purple lines on which the picture stands have run together. The technique is later than that of the vase on Plate I.; the white engobe assimilates to that of the later Attic lekythoi, the whole design is carried out in the severe black and purple (without any white touches for flesh parts or other details), common to all vases on white ground of the class usually, but erroneously, known as *Locri vases* (Rayet and Collignon, *Céramique*, p. 216).<sup>13</sup>



The vase on Plate II. gives another myth from the legend of Odysseus. In the centre stands Kirke clad in a long chiton, the diploëdion of which is daintily embroidered. She wears a high crown or *stephane*, and fillets which fall back over her long hair (we are reminded of her Homeric epithet *εὐπλόκαμος*). In her left hand she holds a deep cup which she is stirring by means of a stick or straw; the latter is probably intended for the *virga magica* (*ῥάβδος πεπλεγνῖα*, Hom. *Od.* κ. 238). She has apparently just risen from her chair to offer the contents of the cup to a bearded man (Odysseus), seated on a rock in front of her, to the left. Odysseus wears a finely plaited chiton, the border of which is indicated by purple touches—his sword is at his side—he wears high boots or greaves; his legs are crossed, the left over the right. His left hand rests on his right knee, with his right hand he holds two spears. His face is unfortunately obliterated; the restored sketch of the head in the annexed figure is due to the skilled pencil and to the kindness of Mr. F. Anderson. To the left, and behind

<sup>13</sup> This same absence of white is noticeable on the Cyrenaean ware. See Studniczka's note (31) in *Kyrene*, p. 8.



Kirke, one of the companions of Odysseus is escaping. He is quite nude except for his sword-belt; the hilt of the sword is visible below his right forearm. His head has already been transformed into that of a pig. His curling pig's tail is visible in the angle formed by his chest and his left arm. As he moves away he turns round to look at the scene which is being enacted in the centre. His left hand grasps two spears. The right he presses to his breast, in an attitude expressive of emotion. Dots and strokes intended to imitate inscriptions fill up the empty spaces.

Only four other vase-paintings illustrating this myth have been known up to now—lettered by Bolte *A, B, C, D*, on pp. 18—20 of *Mon. ad Odysseam pertinent.* Bolte's *B* may be dismissed as being a late and clumsy adaptation of another type to the story of Kirke. *C* and *D* give only Kirke and the companion who is partially transformed. The two figures in *C* and *D* may possibly be borrowed from a larger composition that included Odysseus—like the *A* of Bolte's list, a B.F. lekythos in the Berlin Museum (Furtwaengler Catal. no. 1960, Koerte, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, taf. XV.). On this lekythos Kirke is seated (to the right) on a stool or *ὀκλαδίας*, while Odysseus armed stands in front of her. On either side of this central composition are a couple of companions each with the head of a different animal. On the lekythos published on Plate II. the positions of the central actors are reversed. Kirke has risen from her seat; it is she who stands while Odysseus remains seated on a rock facing her.

The most remarkable feature about this new representation of the story is the figure of Odysseus, which at a first glance offers in outline and attitude a striking resemblance to the Odysseus in the scenes of the *Embassy to Achilles*, where the hero sits with one or both hands clasped to his knee.<sup>14</sup> It has long been recognized that the attitudes of the chief personages in the *πρὸς Βεΐα* could be traced back to famous motives from the hand of some great master. Archaeologists are mostly agreed in seeing in the figure of Odysseus a reminiscence of the seated Hector in the *Nekyia* of Polygnotos (*Paus.* x. 31. 5).<sup>15</sup> Although there must have been a tender melancholy in the attitude of Hector, of which there is no trace in the somewhat haughty mien of the Odysseus of our lekythos, it can yet be affirmed of the latter that the fine sweeping lines, and the general movement of the figure, seem due to the influence of some great original, to which the Polygnotian Hector offers at least one analogy. The vase-picture has further another peculiarly Polygnotian trait, in the fact that Odysseus—contrary to what would be expected within the Palace of Kirke—is seated on a rock; surely this must be a direct reminiscence of those many figures of heroes seated on rocks in the *Nekyia* (*ἐνὶ πέτρᾳ καθεζόμενος* of Memnon, of Sarpedon, of Marsyas, etc.).

<sup>14</sup> For a list of instances and for an analysis of the evolution of the type see O. Robert in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 128 ff. Cf. his recent great article on the *Nekyia* of Polygnotos (*Sechszehntes Hallisches Winckelmanns-programm*, 1892). See also P. Girard, *La Peinture*

*Antique*, p. 173 ff. For the attitude of Odysseus on the present lekythos cf. also Max. Mayer in *Athen. Mittheil.* xvi. (1891), p. 308.

<sup>15</sup> See especially F. Dümmler in *Jahrbuch* 1887, p. 172.



The dependence of this vase-painting on a Polygnotian motive affords an important clue for the dating of the class of vases to which it belongs. It has been fairly well established from considerations of drawing that this class of lekythos preserves the old B.F. technique far down into the fifth century. (See P. Milliet, *Étude sur les Premières Périodes de la Céramique Grecque*, p. 144.<sup>16</sup>) Indeed, as M. Milliet has well pointed out, many of these vase-paintings have little that is archaic about them except the colour and the technique. So too on our vase the stately figure of Kirke, the finely-posed Odysseus, the companion with his pathetic movement, betray a period when the models set by the great *pictura* in the works of Polygnotos and his school were familiar to all.<sup>17</sup> Even the painters of the despised lekythoi could not but show themselves sensitive to these higher influences, albeit for their cheap mortuary ware, they kept to the old-fashioned technique, constrained to do so perhaps by a conservative *clientèle*. The first stages of the polychrome technique existed side by side with the older method of which we have instances on Plates II. and III. While our vase suggests a Polygnotian influence, it is also to a motive of the same master that Dümmler has traced back the charming figure of an Amazon binding her sandal on a lekythos from Cyprus (*Jahrbuch*, 1887, taf. XI.) where the design is already carried out in outline—white now reappearing for the flesh parts.<sup>18</sup>

### III.—PLATE III. HERAKLES AND ATLAS (Athens Centr. Mus., Invent. 1006).

The *lekythos* on plate III., as already noted, is precisely similar in character and technique to the one with the representation of Kirke and Odysseus. In the centre Herakles (turned in profile to the right) in a stooping posture holds on his left shoulder (cf. ὤμοις ἐρείδων of Atlas in Aesch. *Prom.* 350, 429) and supports with both hands a firmament represented by a black strip studded with six stars and a crescent moon. The hero's attitude recalls Hesiod's description of Atlas (*Theog.* 517)—

Ἀτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης  
 πείρασιν ἐν γαίῃς, πρόπαρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων  
 ἐστηώς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χέρεσσι.

After the manner of archaic art, he is tightly clad in the lion's skin, which is confined by a girdle, indicated by a purple line within double incised lines; under the skin he wears a chiton falling in wavy folds; its border is indicated by purple touches; the sword-belt is worn under the

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also Max. Mayer, *loc. cit.* p. 144, whose conclusions with regard to the lekythos on Plate I. I am however quite unable to agree with.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Furtwaengler's subtle remarks on the influence of Polygnotian painting on vases about the years B.C. 460—450 in *Winckelmanns-*

*fest-programm*, 1890, p. 112. (*Eine vase aus Gela*).

<sup>18</sup> For this class of lekythos with outline drawing—transitional between the black technique illustrated on Plates II. and III. and the later polychrome ware—see Weisshäupl's article in *Athen. Mittheil.* 1890, pp. 40—63.



lion's skin and appears at the waist and at the back of Herakles' neck; the sword is just visible on the left; the tail of the lion skin is neatly tucked up within the belt: Atlas, a tall muscular figure, is advancing towards Herakles with mighty strides. He wears a flowing beard and long hair bound up by a purple fillet. In each outstretched hand he holds two apples which he is offering to Herakles. The left hand of Atlas is drawn as if it were a right hand.<sup>19</sup> The space between the figures of Herakles and Atlas is occupied by the bow, quiver and club of Herakles. According to M. Staes the objects are supposed to be hanging up; it is more likely that they are intended to be thrown aside. In the labour of the Nemean lion, Herakles threw his weapons on the ground, to encounter the beast more freely—

ρίψας τόξον ἔραζε, πολὺῖραπτόν τε φαρέτρην  
(Theokr. xxv. 265).

The artist has not the knowledge of perspective necessary to give the objects foreshortened on the ground—perhaps also he cannot resist using them to fill up his spaces—and thus we get the weapons suspended as it were in mid-air. The remaining empty spaces are adorned with dots and lines intended to imitate inscriptions.

The adventure of Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides, of which we have an episode depicted here, has been preserved for us at length by Pherekydes (*Fragm.* 33 in Müller, vol. I. p. 79). It is often fortunate, for purposes of identification, that the vase-painters were content to individualize the personages they portrayed by simply giving them their traditional attributes and dress; thus it is that their work not infrequently throws light on the more ambitious compositions of sculptors, who rely for individualization on their power of suggesting different characteristics solely by effects of pose, of movement, or of modelling. In the present instance the vase-painting, by showing us Herakles clad in his lion's skin, affords a striking confirmation of the view first put forward by E. Curtius, and now universally accepted, that Pausanias was mistaken in his description of the Olympian metope (Collignon, *Sculpt. Grecque*, p. 439, Fig. 221, etc.), and that the nude figure supporting the burden of the heavens is Herakles, and the nude figure holding the apples facing him is Atlas (*Athen. Mittheil.* i. (1876) p. 206 Pl. XI.).

The return of Atlas bearing the apples to Herakles is told with much spirit on the lekythos. The smaller size of the object to be decorated, and its comparatively trivial nature, left the artist free to impart a movement and humour to his composition which are absent from the stately and sculpturesque figures of the temple metope. Otherwise there is a strict correspondence between the two representations. On both Atlas is quite nude and wears his hair bound by a fillet; in both he holds apples in each

<sup>19</sup> A similar mistake occurs on an amphora in the Brit. Museum (Cat. 864), published by Mr. Cecil Smith, *J. S.* iv. (1883) pl. XXX.

representing Herakles and Geras. 'Herakles holds the club in his left hand, which however is drawn as if it were a right hand.'



hand (the left arm of Atlas on the metope is broken off below the elbow, which is bent, but the position can easily be restored). On the vase the lion's skin affords Herakles sufficient protection against the friction of his heavy load, whereas on the metope the nude hero has a large cushion (the *σπίρα* or 'pad' of Pherekydes) to soften his burden. The firmament, so daintily rendered on the vase,<sup>20</sup> does not appear at all on the metope, the whole cornice of the temple probably doing duty for it. On the other hand there is on the metope a third figure—that of the Hesperide who gently helps Herakles to bear his load—which is absent on the vase. It seems probable that this figure, together with the main group, was derived from a more extensive composition which possibly included not only the Hesperides but the apple-tree, such as the works in cedar wood by Theokles and Hegylos, which Pausanias saw at Olympia within the treasury of the Epidamnians: the treasury, Pausanias tells us, contained a πόλον ἀνεχόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀτλαντος ἔχει δὲ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δένδρον τὸ παρὰ Ἑσπερίσι, τὴν μηλέαν, καὶ περιελγμένον τῇ μηλέᾳ τὸν δράκοντα, κέδρον μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, Θεοκλέους δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Ἡγύλου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδί φησι τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου γράμματα· αἱ δὲ Ἑσπερίδες (μετεκινήθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἥλείων) αὗται μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ (Paus. vi. 19, 8). Now that we have the testimony of the lekythos to add to that of the metope, it seems probable that Pausanias, who had mistaken Herakles for Atlas on the metope (v. 11, 5), was guilty of the same error in the case of the cedar wood group also. From some large composition such as that of Theokles, the metope retained an Hesperide in addition to the two principal figures. The Herakles and Atlas had just that touch of humour in their attitudes which was likely to make them popular; in the lively interchange of ideas which must have existed between the various centres of art in Greece some free copy of the group doubtless found its way to Athens, where it fell under the notice of the painter of our lekythos. It must be carefully borne in mind that metope and vase-painting are quite independent of one another; the different spirit which, as we have seen, animated each composition shows that each was a free interpretation of some group from which they borrowed the main lines.

There is in the figures of the lekythos precisely the same freedom of attitude and movement which is to be observed in the Kirke scene on Plate II. The stooping posture of the Herakles affords scope not only for beautifully curving lines, but suggests a touching weariness: the hard set feet, the straining muscles of the legs show well how heavy the load is to bear. The Atlas (spite of the error in the drawing of the hands, and the exaggeration of buttock and of calf) is drawn with surprising vigour and great know-

<sup>20</sup> I do not know whether much, or any, cosmogonic importance can be attached to the peculiar rectangular shape, given on our lekythos to the firmament. The only other instance known to me of such a shape for the firmament occurs on a little vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It has been published

by M. Pottier as a tail-piece to his charming article 'Grèce et Japon' (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1890, p. 132); within a little rectangular heaven (not unlike the one on our lekythos) a very long-tailed and small-winged Pegasus is flying upwards towards six stars and a crescent moon.



ledge of anatomical detail. The artist has well observed the different movements in walking: as Atlas moves forward his left foot is raised on the extreme tips of the toes, while his right is firmly planted on the ground in the onward stride. The figure can be no servile copy: it is as if some muscular athlete in the palaestra had been caught in the moment when he was walking rapidly. If the pace were slackened we should just have the so-called 'unicurine' attitude of Polykleitan statues. Drawings like that on Plate II. and III. show sufficiently that the artists of these white-faced lekythoi were free from every archaic trammel save that of technique. They further bear witness to the artistic perfection to which this ware—probably introduced into Attica, as we have seen, from Naukratite or Cyrenaean workshops—attained in the hands of the Attic potters of the fifth century. Such pictures if enlarged to a considerable size would indeed do credit to the wall decorators of any country or epoch. The three lekythoi now published for the first time seem to remind us in conclusion of the pressing need there is for a collective publication of white-faced ware, inclusive of the Naukratite and Cyrenaean fabrics down to the latest Attic polychrome lekythoi. Only when a publication of this kind lies before archaeologists will they be able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions with regard to the development of ancient painting proper.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

BERLIN. *January 1893.*

## POSEIDON'S TRIDENT.

WE have all been accustomed to associate the familiar form of the trident with a marine deity, whether the Greek Poseidon or the Roman Neptune, but it may not have occurred to many to enquire what is the particular appropriateness of such an emblem to the ruler of the sea, or in what way it was adopted as his emblem. It is my purpose to offer some suggestions which may throw light on the subject, and may further tend to show that, in artistic representations at least, the trident is merely an evolution of a somewhat different form, that it is in fact the development of an originally purely decorative ornament.

Such developments of simple decorative motives into definite mythological representations are by no means uncommon in Greek art. In a former number of this *Journal*<sup>1</sup> Miss Harrison has traced the 'Odysseus and Sirens' type to a purely decorative origin. The same writer, in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. cxiv., cxxv., suggests that the tortoise of the robber Skiron slain by Theseus, and the clue which guided that hero through the labyrinth of the Minotaur, found their way into mythology from vase-paintings in which they were merely decorative. These may be only suggestions, but I am of opinion that difficult points in many myths may be cleared up in this way.

I wish to lay special emphasis on the words *in artistic representations*, because it is with them almost entirely that I have to deal. Into the literary evidence on the subject it does not seem to me necessary to enter at length, although the first mention of Poseidon's trident in Greek literature is of course earlier than the first at present known representation in art.

In the stories of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* Poseidon plays a fairly important part, and is a fully-developed member of the Homeric theocracy. He even claims equality with Zeus in *Il.* xv. 185 ff. :

ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥ' ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν, ὑπέροπλον ἔειπεν,  
εἴ μ' ὁ μὲν ὅτι μὲν ἔοντα βίη ἀέκοντα καθέξει.  
τρῆς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοί, οὗς τέκετο Ῥέα,  
Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγὼ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης, ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσω.  
τρίχθα δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

Mr. Gladstone says: 'As God of the sea he provides an impersonation to take charge of one of the great domains of external nature; as the eldest

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi. p. 19.



or strongest next to Zeus, he represents the nucleus of the rivalry and material opposition to Zeus.'

The word *τρίαινα* occurs three times in Homer, on each occasion in connection with Poseidon. Thus, in *Il.* xii. 27, αὐτὸς δ' Ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεςσι τρίαιναν ἡγείτο; again, in *Od.* iv. 506, he strikes with his trident the rock whereon Ajax son of Oileus sat, and splits it in pieces: αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα τρίαιναν ἐλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρῆσιν ἤλασε Γυραίην πέτρην, ἀπὸ δ' ἔσχισεν αὐτήν. In *Od.* v. 291, on seeing Odysseus setting sail from Calypso's isle he raises a storm, and stirs up the waves with the trident: ὡς εἰπὼν σύναγεν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἐλὼν. Hence we see that, as far as Homer is concerned, we have no literary evidence about the attribute of Poseidon, except as to the purposes for which it is employed. There is nothing to indicate its shape, except that the form of the word *τρίαινα* shows that it must be more or less of tripartite shape; that such a shape does not necessarily imply the three-pronged object familiar to us, I will endeavour to show later.

There is one more reference to the *τρίαινα* in an early Greek writer, viz. in a fragment of Archilochus, who lived about 700 B.C. (No. 45 in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*):

*τρίαιναν ἐσθλὴν καὶ κυβερνήτην σοφόν.*

Here *κυβερνήτην* is doubtless used metaphorically, in which case *τρίαιναν* must be also; it probably denotes a symbol of dominion, especially over the sea. If however the words are used in their literal sense, I think *τρίαινα* can only mean the three-pronged fork used for spearing tunny-fish, with no reference to Poseidon.

The literary evidence being thus scanty, we turn to representations of Poseidon in early art. I have dwelt upon the important position of Poseidon among the Homeric gods, where he is, in his own opinion at all events, 'a marine Zeus,' *πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεὺς*, as he is styled in one of the Orphic hymns. We should then look for a corresponding prominence in art; but at any rate until the fifth century B.C. representations of the god are comparatively rare. In fact it was not really until the time of Lysippos that the type of the ideal Poseidon with which we are familiar was created; and after that time all representations are subordinated to this one Lysippian type, and consequently lose all their interest, at least for the solution of this question.

Of archaic representations of Poseidon in sculpture, painting, gems and coins, none that have come down to us are earlier than 500 B.C.; the vase-paintings I will discuss later. It may be of interest meanwhile to enumerate those known from literary tradition only:

(1). The oldest known representation is in a painting by Kleantes of Corinth in the temple of Artemis near Olympia, mentioned by Strabo (viii. p. 343) and Athenaeus (viii. 346 B-C). The scenes described were the taking of Troy and the birth of Athena. Athenaeus says: Ποσειδῶν πεποιήται θύννον τῷ Διὶ προσφέρων ὠδίνοντι,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ἐν ὁγδόῃ τοῦ

<sup>2</sup> This is of course erroneous; the tunny-fish is merely held by Poseidon as an attribute.



Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 16) says of this Kleantes 'inventam liniarem (picturam) a Philocle Aegyptio vel Ceanthe Corinthio.' He gives no indication of his date, but merely implies that he was one of the earliest Greek painters.

(2). In sculpture we have three instances :

(a) A bronze statue of Poseidon Hippios at Pheneos in Arcadia, supposed to be set up by Odysseus (Pausanias viii. 14. 5). This statement Pausanias wisely declines to believe: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ὀδυσσεῖα ἀναθεῖναι τὸ χαλκοῦν οὐκ ἔχω πείθεσθαι σφισιν· οὐ γάρ πω τότε τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα διὰ παντὸς ἠπίσταντο ἐργάσασθαι καθάπερ ἐσθῆτα ἐξυφαίνοντες. It is however possible that it was very archaic; otherwise Pausanias would have given the *style* as his reason for doubting its earliness.

(b) A bronze relief in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta by Gitiadas, about 516 B.C.. Pausanias (iii. 17. 3) says it was *μάλιστα θεᾶς ἄξια*, and that the subjects were (1) the birth of Athena, (2) Amphitrite and Poseidon.

(c) A relief of Amphitrite and Poseidon on the pedestal of the Amyclæan Apollo by Bathyklus of Magnesia (Paus. iii. 19. 3), and another relief on the throne itself (*ibid.* 18. 10); both of these would date about 540 B.C.

There were also statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite made by Glaukos of Argos among the *ἀναθήματα* of Mikythos at Olympia (Paus. v. 26, 2), and a statue of Poseidon set up on the Isthmus after the battle of Plataea (Hdt. ix. 81); both of these date between 480 and 470 B.C.

In none of these cases is the trident mentioned, so that they are of little use for our purpose. Nor do we fare any better if we turn our attention to gems and coins; for I know of no archaic gems with representations of Poseidon, and the earliest on coins are on those of Potidaea and Poseidonia, dating about 500 B.C., and of Crete, about 430 B.C. In all these cases the trident is of the ordinary form. As is so often the case, it is to vase-paintings that we must turn for enlightenment on the subject. And here at once I think we find the solution of the question. The range of mythological subjects on black-figured vases is wider perhaps than that of any other branch of art, and naturally we expect to find on them many myths with which Poseidon was in some way concerned, either as a principal actor, or at least as an interested spectator.

Now in the spring of the year 1879 a very remarkable discovery was made at Penteskuphia, about a mile and a half to the south-west of the Acropolis of Corinth, consisting of about a thousand votive tablets or *pinakes* of terra-cotta. All were in fragments, and only in a very few cases could these fragments be fitted together to form a complete pinax. From the way in which they were heaped together, it is supposed that like the terra-cottas



of Capua,<sup>3</sup> and the pottery of Naukratis,<sup>4</sup> they were the refuse of some temple or sanctuary collected in what is known as a *favissa*.<sup>5</sup> We shall see from the evidence of the pinakes themselves that they must have been votive tablets offered in a sanctuary of Poseidon, and probably cast aside as rubbish when their numbers accumulated or when they were regarded as old and worthless.

But the great feature of interest in these pinakes is that all or nearly all bear painted designs of a very archaic type, and yet of fairly advanced technique; the drawing varies greatly and is sometimes very rude in execution, sometimes the reverse. They appear to fall into three classes: (1) rude silhouette-painting without inner markings; (2) stiff outlines incised with a graving-tool, the figures only partly painted in, without inner markings; (3) the ordinary style of the older Corinthian vases, with inner markings and details rendered by means of a purple pigment.

The subjects depicted are even more varied than the style of the painting, and comprise a fairly wide range of mythological figures and *genre*-scenes, among the latter the commonest being pottery-making, mining, and fishing. In some cases animals are represented, the most interesting instance being the fable of the Fox and the Crow, the earliest known representation of a fable of Aesop. Of the mythological subjects by far the greater number consist of representations of Poseidon, frequently in conjunction with Amphitrite. He is usually represented standing, but sometimes with Amphitrite in his chariot. The figure or parts of the figure of Poseidon occur on some 240 of these fragments, in nearly every case holding a trident, though in the majority the pinax is not complete enough to show it, or at least to show what form it takes. Inscriptions in the Corinthian alphabet, dedicatory or explanatory, are found on most examples; the usual formula of dedication is *ὁ δαῖνά με ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ποτειδάνι*, or *ὁ δαῖνά με ἀνέθηκε Ποτειδάνι Φάνακτι*. The character of these inscriptions is very archaic, and they may be dated in some cases as far back as the seventh century B.C., in fact none can be later than the middle of the sixth century. It is however impossible to classify the pinakes according to any definite chronological sequence; we must be content with placing them between the limits 650—550 B.C.

And here it seems to me that we have the most ancient of all existing representations of Poseidon in Greek art; for I know of no others that can be placed before 550 B.C., and these pinakes can in no case be brought later than that date. Even in vase-paintings the earliest instance, next to these, is probably on the vase in the British Museum (B 147) representing the birth of Athena; this is an early Athenian black-figured vase, but cannot be dated before 550 B.C.

These pinakes were acquired by the Berlin Museum, and have been fully described and classified according to subjects by Furtwängler in his catalogue of that vase-collection, while the most interesting have been

<sup>3</sup> Beloch. *Campanien*, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> See Furtwängler, *Berlin Catalogue of Vases*.

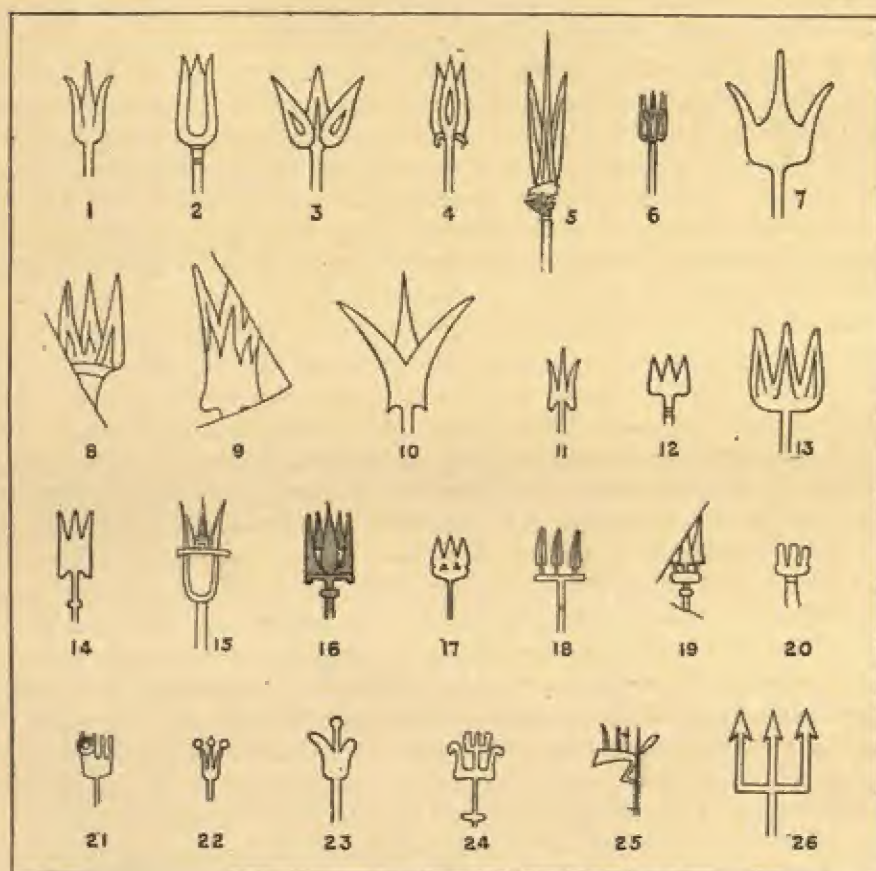
<sup>4</sup> *Third Mem. Egypt Exploration Fund*, p. 47.

p. 47.



published in Plates vii.—viii. of the first series of the *Antike Denkmäler* issued by the German Archaeological Institute in 1886. From the first of these plates Figs. 4—6, 10—12, 16—21 have been taken; Figs. 1—3, 7—9, 13—15 are from drawings of unpublished fragments kindly furnished by Drs. Winter and Winnefeld of the Berlin Museum. Figs. 22—26 are derived from various sources described below.

It might seem at first sight from these illustrations that the later form of the trident never occurs on the pinakes; but such is not the case. Furt-



wängler in his catalogue only notes seventeen cases where these variations are found, but I have collected twenty-three altogether. This may not seem a large proportion out of the 240 representations of Poseidon, but it must be remembered that in many cases it is impossible to ascertain the form of the trident, owing to the incompleteness of the fragment or obscurity of the design. I have endeavoured as far as possible to arrange these diagrams so as to show the process of development from what I believe to have been the original form of the trident, but the variety of forms is so great that it is



not an easy task. This remarkable diversity of form can I think only be explained in one way: the ordinary form of the trident is found at all doubtful periods; the variations only in these early examples, and in one or two later ones to which I shall presently allude; the obvious conclusion then to be drawn is that these variable forms are signs of a transition from one type to another, which transition is going on at the period to which these examples belong. The trident-form as we know it is the result of the transition; its origin I think is clear from the examples before us.

In Figure 1 (Berlin Cat. 802) we see that the termination of the trident takes the exact form of a lotos-bud, the common ornament of black-figured vases. Fig. 2 (Berlin 384) again presents another variety of the same form, but the bud is less open. In Fig. 3 (Berlin 348) we have the fully-developed flower, and in Figs. 4—6 (*Ant. Denkm.* Pl. vii., Figs. 28, 3, 11) varieties all of which show clearly that leaves are intended to be represented, presumably of the lotos-flower; and of these only Fig. 6 gives us any indication of the trident-form. The essential three points are there; but that is all. Figs. 7—8 (Berlin 843, 453) show a further advance; in both we have the three separate points; but the outline of Fig. 7 is that of the calyx of a lotos-flower. Fig. 9 (Berlin 838) again is purely a flower, represented as just opening from the bud. Fig. 10 (*A.D.* Pl. vii., Fig. 18) is a noticeable instance as giving the first indication of the cross-bar from which the three prongs spring; this is seen to curve downwards in the same way in several cases where the trident is of fully-developed form, as on the early coins of Poseidonia. Fig. 11 (*A.D.* vii. 21) is a similar instance, but like Fig. 12 (*A.D.* vii. 26) has lost its floral character; both clearly indicate that the object represented is of a metallic nature. Figs. 13—15 (Berlin 371, 803, 450) are of a metallic appearance; the first two still show the three lotos-leaves springing from one cup, but in Fig. 14 the cup is much squarer, and the outline again is rather that of the trident than of a lotos-flower. Fig. 15 is a curious example, and I am still inclined to regard it as a lotos-flower, but the cross-bar, which in this case is placed more than half-way up towards the points, is stiff and mechanical, though the termination resembles the ordinary lotos-bud. Fig. 16 (*A.D.* vii. 24) is, I think, a development of the lotos-flower in another direction; the flower itself is more elaborate, but we have the cross-bar as in the next two examples. Figs. 17—18 (*A.D.* vii. 20, 27) are a considerable advance on the previous ones; although the upright points still retain the form of lotos-leaves, they spring from a distinct cross-bar, and are totally disconnected. Fig. 19 (*A.D.* vii. 17) may be compared with Fig. 18, but is the first instance in which the barbs of the trident-prongs are indicated. Fig. 20 (*A.D.* vii. 19) is from a rudely painted fragment, and is consequently of little importance; and Fig. 21 (*A.D.* vii. 2) is an abnormal form of trident with four prongs.

I conclude this series of illustrations with four examples from later vases, in which we meet with interesting traces of this same development. The first example (Fig. 22) is from an Ionic amphora in the British Museum (B 57 = Gerhard. *Auserl. Vasenb.* 127), and is from a weapon held by



Poseidon, the lower end of which terminates in a spear-head. Here the curve of the outer prongs still follows the shape of the lotos-flower, but the barbed ends seem from their shape to be derived from ivy-leaves. The next (Fig. 23) is from another black-figured amphora in the Museum (B 246), forming the termination of a lotos-sceptre, and is of quite abnormal form.

In the next two examples the sceptre of Zeus is in each case represented, and there is no doubt in any case of Zeus' identity. Fig. 24 is from a black-figured amphora in the British Museum (B 166 = Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* 128). The termination of the sceptre here held by Zeus recalls very strongly the form of the trident; so much so that in the 1851 catalogue of the vases (p. 136) the figure holding it was actually described as Poseidon. In the same scene is represented a youthful deity with a trident of ordinary form, described in the above-mentioned catalogue as Palaemon, but who is probably Poseidon himself, who is occasionally represented beardless. Fig. 25 is taken from a similar subject on the kylix of Phrynos in the B. M. (B 424 = Lenormant and de Witte, *Él. Cér.* i. 56). The design is very small and carelessly painted, so that it is not easy to get an accurate representation of Zeus' sceptre; but in any case the shape is most remarkable. In some respects it resembles the trident even more closely than the last example; the lotos-form is in no way indicated. It appears to be an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the artist to render the sceptre in profile, but the form is very difficult to explain.

I would also refer to a red-figured vase (*Él. Cér.* iii. 11), representing a seated Zeus with a *phiale* and a winged Nike. The termination of the sceptre in this case is clearly meant for a lotos-flower, but it may be compared with the five-pointed flower of Fig. 16. It may also be noted that the trident on red-figured vases often has a second cross-bar immediately below the points, which may be derived from this five-fold form. Fig. 26, from a black-figured vase, represents the younger form of trident.

Now the lotos form of the sceptre is very common in Greek art, and is almost invariably borne by deities: by Zeus on numerous vase-paintings, as we have seen; by Hera and Aphrodite in Judgment of Paris scenes (as on B 237 and B 238 in the British Museum); and frequently on red-figured vases.

It is a remarkable fact that in the archaic period of art practically no distinction is made between Poseidon and Zeus, except where they have attributes; if Poseidon has no tunny-fish, and instead of the trident a lotos-sceptre, there is nothing to distinguish him from Zeus. I think this may possibly indicate that in early times a strong distinction between Poseidon and Zeus was not recognized among the Greeks. Poseidon was in fact *Zeus in his marine aspect*. The passage I have quoted above from Homer shows that he himself makes such a claim; surely then this must be the light in which he was regarded by the Greeks of that time.

If then Poseidon approximated so closely in his original character to Zeus, it is hardly surprising that, in a gradual process of differentiation, the distinguishing attribute previously borne by *both* deities, namely the sceptre,



should go through a process of differentiation also. It seems probable that the tunny-fish which Poseidon so often holds, as in the early painting by Kleanthes, suggested the form that his sceptre should take, namely that of the three-pronged spear used in catching that particular fish. But that the original form was that of the lotos-sceptre, I think our series of illustrations most clearly shows.

We may find very remarkable parallels to this transition in Oriental, especially in Indian, art. Mr. John O'Neill has kindly allowed me to use some proof-sheets of his forthcoming work, *The Night of the Gods*, in which he gives two instances, drawn from Moore's *Hindû Pantheon*, which seem to bear out the theory almost exactly. The illustrations he makes use of give clear proof of the transformation of a fleur-de-lys (which is of course practically identical with the lotos-flower) into a trident-shaped weapon known in India as the *trisula*. Mr. O'Neill points out the universality (1) of the fleur-de-lys as an Oriental emblem, (2) of the trident as an Oriental weapon; the fleur-de-lys or lotos he considers to be the emblem of a triad. Furthermore, wherever the trident is found, its connection with the lotos-flower or fleur-de-lys may be traced. He would wish to connect the trident of Poseidon with that of Assur, and that of Saturn, or Kronos, and suggests that the trident represents the triad of Kronidai, or sons of Kronos, i.e. Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto; of whom Zeus was allotted the sceptre because of his ruling judicial power; while Poseidon, as holding a terrestrial or intermediate position between the other two, was given the trident.

With these theories I am not altogether inclined to agree, as explanation by means of symbolism is always, though a fascinating, a dangerous course to pursue; besides my point is this, that the lotos-sceptre and trident *are not parallel forms*, but that the one grew out of the other, and that since the lotos-sceptre as an attribute of Poseidon is only found in these examples of early date, whereas the trident-form belongs to all periods, the lotos must be the earlier form from which the other has been evolved by a process of differentiation, which, as I have shown, is not without parallel in Greek or Oriental art.

To sum up: the trident of Poseidon, as represented in Greek art, is a development of the art-type of the lotos-sceptre commonly borne by deities, this development being brought about by a necessary process of differentiation from the lotos-sceptre of Zeus; while the form that the sceptre took in Poseidon's hands was no doubt suggested by the other attribute he so frequently bears, namely the tunny-fish. In the absence of sufficient evidence from the more ancient monuments, I do not advance this theory as certain, but I can at least hope to have offered some new suggestions which may be of interest to the student of Greek mythology or art.

H. B. WALTERS.



## PALLADIA FROM MYCENAE.

THE objects<sup>1</sup> which form the subject of the present paper, and which may be easily identified by the accompanying cuts, Nos. 5—8, have for some time been a puzzle to students of Mycenaean archaeology. Certain specimens exhibited in the cases of the Mycenae Room in the Polytechnic Museum at Athens are described as 'objects of unknown use'; and although some suggestions have been thrown out in various publications of isolated examples, I do not think any satisfactory explanation of them has yet been offered. The cause of this failure seems to be the impossibility of understanding properly any such specimen, apart from the whole class to which it belongs. I will therefore begin this paper with a list of instances which, while not pretending to be exhaustive, is at least representative, and so will give some notion of the character, size, shape, and material of the objects now before us.

These objects have usually been found wherever any extensive discovery of remains belonging to the so-called Mycenae period has been made. They have been found usually, but not exclusively, in tombs. Some were discovered by Schliemann, and one is figured in his book, *Mycenae*, p. 111. Many have been found by M. Tsountas in the tombs he has excavated at Mycenae; and some also have been dug up out of the tomb at Spata in Attica, and among the earliest strata on the Acropolis at Athens. Thus their distribution seems to be co-extensive with that of the Mycenae civilization; and I know of no examples that have been discovered among remains of any other period.

These objects vary in shape, when viewed from above or below, from two circles, joined together so as to intersect one another slightly, to a long oval, pinched in at the middle. They are usually flat below, with two exceptions to be noted later; and when the shape is that bounded by the two circles, the centre of each is usually clearly marked (see Fig. 7). Above they consist, in the most regular form, of two roughly conical masses, inclined towards one another (Fig. 5); but in most cases this shape is modified to a ridge along the back, sloping down towards each end, and narrowed in the middle by a deep indentation on each side (Figs. 6 and 8). In one example found on the Acropolis at Athens, a handle is attached to the lower side.<sup>2</sup> The size varies from nearly six inches to half an inch in length; the material is ivory, glazed

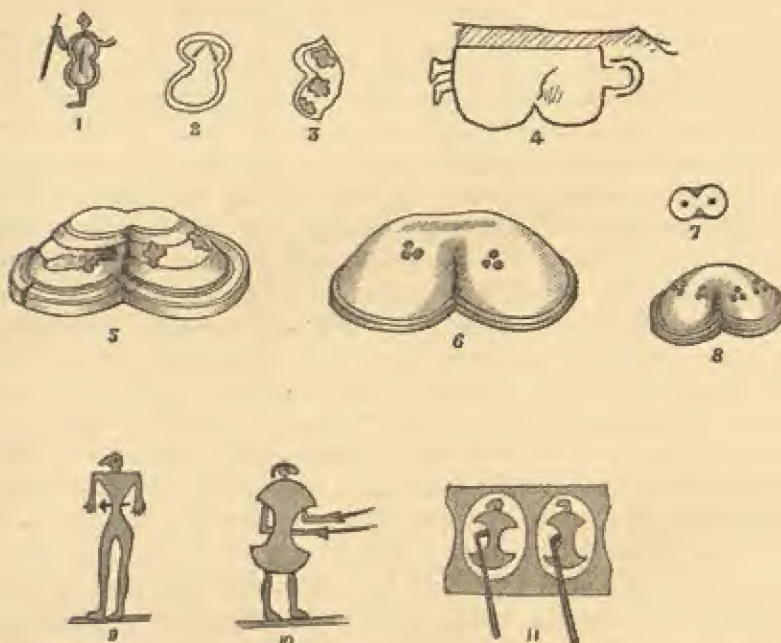
<sup>1</sup> Some of these objects were found by Dr. Schliemann; most of the others by M. Tsountas, whose discoveries at Mycenae and elsewhere are too well known to need further acknowledg-

ment.

<sup>2</sup> So also one found by Dr. Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 111; 'it has on its lower side a tubular hole for fastening it to something else.'



ware, or glass. In one case we see an object of this sort made of gold, and attached, apparently as an ornament, to a silver relief with scenes in *repoussé* work;<sup>3</sup> another is also found similarly attached to a vase on the Acropolis, doubtless in imitation of the last-mentioned example;<sup>4</sup> and in several cases one is to be seen cut upon a gem of the so-called island type, of which so many have been found in Mycenae tombs.<sup>5</sup>



EXPLANATION OF CUTS. (The objects have in each case been drawn from the originals.)

FIG. 1.—Image of armed divinity, on ring found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae.

FIGS. 2, 3.—Shields worn by warriors, on dagger with lion hunt found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae.

FIG. 4.—Fallen warrior, on tombstone found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae.

FIG. 5.—Amulet of ivory, found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae.

FIGS. 6, 7, 8.—Similar amulets of glazed ware, found by M. Tsountas at Mycenae.

FIG. 9.—Warrior from great Dipylon vase at Athens.

FIG. 10.—Warrior with shield, driving chariot, from great Dipylon vase at Athens.

FIG. 11.—Men rowing in a ship, from a Dipylon vase at Athens.

After so much enumeration and description of examples, we may now proceed to consider what was the meaning or the use of these peculiar objects. The latter of these two questions may be easily dismissed. The difference of

<sup>3</sup> 'Ep. 'ApX. 1891, Pl. ii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ep. 'ApX. 1891, p. 12, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ep. 'ApX. 1888, Pl. x. 28. *Myk. Vasen*, E. 5, 22, 24. They are in one or two cases ex-

plained as bivalve shells; sometimes they approximate to this form on gems; but other examples cannot be so explained, and the whole class must go together.

size and material already noticed is enough to show that they cannot have been intended for any practical use. Nor, again, can they be explained as purely decorative or ornamental, although the examples quoted as occurring on gems and in relief on metal and terra-cotta might seem to have only this purpose. But even if we accepted this view, we should still have to explain the origin of the form, although, if merely decorative, its meaning might be forgotten by the artist who used it. The examples of a similar shape occurring independently in tombs and elsewhere cannot well be purely decorative in purpose; and so we are reduced to the only possible explanation that remains. They must have a symbolical meaning; one may almost go further, and say that from their frequent occurrence in tombs and under such circumstances they must be amulets.

We must follow out this clue in trying to trace the origin of their peculiar shape. Fortunately we have yet another clue in the ornamentation which occurs in several examples. This consists either of groups of small holes, three or four in number, set close together, or of a pattern formed by uniting three or four such holes together so as to form a cross or similar figure with rounded outlines. Now upon the famous Mycenae dagger representing a lion hunt<sup>6</sup> one of the men has a shield which shows a precisely similar ornamentation, and two of them have shields of the peculiar shape, like two circles slightly intersecting, which we have noticed (Figs. 2 and 3). A similar shape of shield (Fig. 4) is seen on the tombstone from Mycenae,<sup>7</sup> upon the gold ornament with a representation of a combat,<sup>8</sup> and upon a gem with a similar scene;<sup>9</sup> it seems, in fact, to have been one of the two common shapes for shields among the warriors of the Mycenaean epoch.

We may, then, take it as proved that these objects are intended to represent shields; but we have still to consider their symbolical meaning. It will hardly be suggested that they can have been buried with the dead as a substitute for real shields; in such a case of substitution we know that it was customary to bring an object resembling its original in size and construction, only made of costly material and without solidity.<sup>10</sup> We must therefore look for a more indirect symbolical use of the form of the shield. And at this point all those who are familiar with early Greek art will think of the very curious use which is made of the form of the shield upon the Dipylon vases. It conceals and so takes the place of the form of the body not only in the case of armed warriors (compare Fig. 9 with Fig. 10), where it is natural enough, but even in the case of rowers (Fig. 11) and others, where it must be a meaningless convention. At Mycenae, however, we need not go so far as this. There the most remarkable instances of the substitution of a shield of

<sup>6</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886, Pl. ii. Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, p. 155. Schuchhardt (English Ed.) p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 52 (Schuchhardt, Eng. Ed. p. 171).

<sup>8</sup> Schliemann, p. 174, No. 254 (Schuch. p. 196, No. 178).

<sup>9</sup> Schliemann, p. 202, No. 313. This group is quite misunderstood by the draughtsman; but the outlines of the two shields can be seen even in his drawing.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. the breastplates, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 301 (Schuch. p. 255).



this peculiar shape for the human body, which may be supposed to be hidden behind it, is to be seen on the remarkable ring found by Schliemann (Fig. 1),<sup>11</sup> and on the glazed plaque found by M. Tsountas in a tomb at Mycenae.<sup>12</sup> In both these cases we see what is evidently meant for an armed divinity attended by worshippers; and of this divinity the body consists of a shield of the double circular shape, while a helmeted head, feet, arms, and other adjuncts appear beyond its rim. We may well suppose that this armed image of divinity is the Palladium; this identification is probable, but can hardly be considered certain in the present state of our knowledge of the religion of the inhabitants of Mycenae. From such a representation, in which the shield forms by far the most prominent part, the step is an easy one to the use of the shield alone, or its characteristic shape, as an abbreviation or symbol of the armed divinity; and thus we may best explain the meaning of the amulets that are described in this paper. As an instance of a similar use of the shield as an abridged representation or symbol of an armed divinity, we may quote the well-known coinage of Boeotia. It is generally acknowledged among numismatists that the shield upon these coins has such a symbolical meaning, though it has been doubted whether the deity to whom it is to be referred is Heracles<sup>13</sup> or Athena Itonia.<sup>14</sup>

To sum up our results: these curious objects, found among Mycenaean antiquities, have a symbolical meaning, and are of a form which is derived from shields. They are to be regarded as conventional and abridged representations of an armed divinity. To call them Palladia is the simplest way of expressing this fact, whether it be true or not that those who made them identified this armed divinity as the goddess whom we know as the Pallas Athene of later Greece.

ERNEST GARDNER.

<sup>11</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 354, No. 530 (Schuch. p. 277).

<sup>13</sup> P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1887, Pl. x. (Schuch. p. 291).

<sup>14</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 291.

## IRON IN HOMER.

IRON is mentioned in the following passages of Homer (ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένω, τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω), and in these passages only:—

Δ 123, 485, 510; Ε 723; Ζ 48; Η 141, 144, 473; Θ 15; Ι 366; Κ 379; Λ 133; Ρ 424; Σ 34; Τ 372; Χ 357; Ψ 30, 177, 261, 834, 851; Ω 205, 521; α 184, 204; δ 293; ε 191; ι 393; μ 280; ξ 324; ο 329; π 294; ρ 565; τ 13, 211, 494, 587; φ 3, 10, 61, 81, 97, 114, 127, 328; ψ 172; ω 168, 177.

These passages form a basis for discussing two interesting and important points in the Homeric question: (1) whether Homer's acquaintance with iron differs so much in different books that we must believe those books to belong to different ages; and (2) whether iron plays such different parts in Homer and in Mycenae that we cannot believe the Homeric age to be coincident with the Mycenaean period.

The former of these two points has been dealt with by Beloch (*Rivista di Filologia ed Istruzione Classica*, ii. 1873, pp. 49—62), followed by Helbig (*Das Homerische Epos*<sup>1</sup> pp. 235—237) and Schrader (*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, Eng. trans. p. 194). Beloch's paper I have unfortunately not been able to gain access to, and therefore cannot pretend to discuss his arguments. But, according to Helbig, his contention is that, in those parts of the Homeric poems which are known on other grounds to be the oldest, there is (when the lines mentioning iron have been athetized) no reference to iron; and that in the parts of later date we can observe bronze being gradually ousted by iron, just as it was actually driven out by that metal when the Iron Age superseded the Age of Bronze.

We will begin with the latter point. Of those who hold that the *Iliad* is not ὄλον τε but essentially μεριστόν, most will agree that the date of the *Odyssey* is appreciably later than that of the *Iliad*. Consequently, if the iron test fails to reveal any marked differences between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, it cannot be expected to be of much value in the far more delicate work of distinguishing the younger from the older portions of the *Iliad*. Let us then ascertain how much iron the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* respectively contain. In the first place, however, Beloch, Helbig and Schrader consider it a fact of capital importance that *bronze* is mentioned 279 times in the *Iliad* and only 80 times in the *Odyssey*. Since this fact is so all-important,



what is the inference we are intended to draw from it? Obviously, that the use of iron increased in the age of the *Odyssey* in proportion to the decrease in the use of bronze. If this is not the inference suggested, the fact has no importance for the present discussion. That bronze is mentioned more than three times as often in the *Iliad* as it is in the *Odyssey* is a fact which, taken by itself, tells us nothing about the extent to which iron was used; for there may be many other reasons why bronze should be mentioned more frequently in the one poem than in the other. The suggestion therefore must be that the real reason is that iron increases in use in the *Odyssey* because bronze decreases. What then are the actual facts? Iron is mentioned 23 times in the *Iliad*, 25 times in the *Odyssey*. The suggestion is misleading, the inference fallacious, the important fact valueless. The simple reason why bronze is more frequently mentioned in the *Iliad* is that Homeric weapons are made of bronze and that, fights being more numerous, weapons are necessarily more often mentioned in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*.

It seems unnecessary to say more on this point; but, as figures may be made to prove anything, let us see what the figures in this case represent, for fear we should have done any injustice to an argument which has been approved by such high authority. The suggestion is that in the *Odyssey* iron has come to be more extensively used than it was in the *Iliad*, that it has come to be employed for many purposes for which originally it was not used, that many articles are made of iron in the *Odyssey* which were not made of iron in the *Iliad*. What are the facts? The following is a list of all the things of iron that are to be found in the *Iliad*: (1) a club, H 141 and 144; (2) a knife, Σ 34 and Ψ 30; (3) an arrow-head, Δ 123; (4) an adze, Δ 485 and Ψ 851; (5) an axle, E 723; and (6) gates, Θ 15. This is the list of the iron things in the *Odyssey*: (1) an adze, φ 3, 61, 81, 97, 114, 127, 328; τ 587; ω 168, 177; ι 393; (2) bonds, α 204. In all strictness, therefore, we may say that iron was not put to more uses in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*. Indeed, we might be misled into thinking that the Iron Age was not so far advanced in the *Odyssey* as it was in the *Iliad*, if we did not observe that the iron weapons of the *Iliad* are implied in the words, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἀνδρᾶ σιδηρῶς, of the *Odyssey*, π 294 and τ 13.

Trial by iron, therefore, seems thus far to indicate either that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* belong to the same date or that the iron test is not a safe one. It may be that Helbig is right in saying that the authors of the later parts of the Homeric poems adhered as closely as they could to the 'poetic apparatus' of the older lays, and were only occasionally betrayed into lapses which reveal the more advanced culture whereby they were actually surrounded. It does, indeed, seem strange that such lapses should be more frequent in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*, since the bulk of the *Iliad* is older than the *Odyssey*. But perhaps it is in the more modern lays of the *Iliad* that these little slips occur. This is a point on which it is impossible to pronounce with confidence, because of the difficulty there is in suiting everybody, when one tries to specify which are the modern lays.

Let us assume that 'the later expansions' as determined by Dr. Leaf



and in which 'the approximation of style to the *Odyssey* is very marked' (*Iliad* II. p. x.), together with what Prof. Jebb calls the Greater Interpolations, are distinctly later than the rest of the *Iliad*. The older lays, then, will consist of Dr. Leaf's  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\varsigma$  and those 'earlier expansions' of which he is not sure whether they are by the author of the  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\varsigma$  or not; but which, as we infer from Dr. Leaf's uncertainty, cannot be regarded as belonging to an entirely different age from his  $\mu\eta\nu\iota\varsigma$ . Now, on the theory that iron was wholly unknown or but little known in the time of these older lays, we should expect to find in them no references to iron or but few. On the other hand, inasmuch as there are in the *Iliad* 15,700 lines, in these older lays 7,200 lines, and in the *Iliad* 23 references to iron, we should on the theory of chances expect to find 10 references in the older lays, for  $15700 : 7200 :: 23 : 10$ . As a matter of fact there are 9 references to iron in the older lays ( $\Delta$  123, 485, 510; E 723; Z 48; H 141, 144; P 424; X 357). This seems to show that the facts are against the theory that iron was better known to the later lays than to the earlier; and it is surely not without significance that the iron test, when applied to the supposed earlier and later lays of the *Iliad*, should yield precisely the same results as are obtained from its application to the *Odyssey*. On the theory that iron was equally well known to the authors of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, we should expect to find it mentioned an approximately equal number of times. As a matter of fact, it is mentioned 23 times in the *Iliad* and 25 in the *Odyssey*.

It may however be that some fallacy lurks behind the figures which we obtained by comparing the later and the earlier lays of the *Iliad*: and that this fallacy will become evident when we enquire what articles of iron are manufactured in the older lays. Let us push the enquiry, then. The list of all the articles of iron to be found in the *Iliad* as a whole amounts, as we have already said, to six, viz. a club, an adze, an arrow-head, an axle, a knife and gates. With which of these were the older lays acquainted? According to the theory of Beloch, they ought to have been acquainted with none—at any rate, we may say, with a minority. As a matter of fact they are acquainted with the majority, with four out of six, with the first four. After this, it is only in patent disregard of the facts that any one can maintain that in the earlier lays little or no acquaintance with iron is shown, whereas it becomes greater and greater as the lays become later. It so happens that precisely the reverse is the case: more iron objects are found in the older lays of the *Iliad* than are found in the recent; and more again are found in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*. But, it may be suggested, though the lays in which these articles of iron occur are old, the particular lines in which they are mentioned may be spurious. Very well! I am content to submit to this test; my only wish is to get to the bottom of the matter. I take Henze's *Anhang*, the most complete record I can command, and I find that not one of these lines has been suspected.

There remains only one other way by which it is even possible to maintain that iron was unknown in the time of the older lays; and that is to argue that the mere mention of iron is of itself sufficient proof that the



line in which it occurs is spurious. Then, when these spurious lines have been excised, our way will be clear: the absence of any mention of iron in the older lays will show that iron was unknown. As an argument this reasoning is indeed circular; but the conclusion it seeks to establish is not therefore necessarily untrue. And, twenty years ago, the assumption on which it is based had the advantage of being unverifiable: if any one chose to maintain that iron was not known in the time of the older lays and therefore every reference to it must be spurious, no one could prove that iron, as a matter of fact, was known and therefore the references were genuine. To-day, however, things are different. The spade has proved the argument to be not only circular but false. Iron has been discovered both at Hissarlik and at Mycenae.

This brings us to the question whether—so far as iron is concerned—we can count Homer as belonging to the 'Mycenaean period.' The amount of iron as yet dug up is certainly not great—two lumps in the Burnt City of Troy, and, at Mycenae, a few finger-rings in 'the graves of the populace in the lower city.' The absence of iron in the shaft-graves is to be noted. At the same time the amount of iron to be discovered in Homer is not very great, either. There are more than 24,000 lines of Homer, and the references to iron are only 48, all told. Bronze is mentioned about ten times as often—which is what we should expect at the beginning of the Iron Age. Again, 15 out of the 48 references to iron are similes, and, if they were the only references, would not prove that the poet had so much as seen iron: he might only have heard of it and have had no more knowledge of its real nature than other poets have of adamant. Further, the articles of iron which are mentioned in Homer are only seven in number (or eight, if we include the plough-share which is implied, possibly, though not expressly described in Ψ 834); and even this list shrinks on examination. The 'iron bonds' of α 204, which according to Athene would not be strong enough to hold Odysseus, are, I suspect, so called simply to convey the notion of bonds of adamantine strength. The gates of Θ 15, again, could be made of iron by the poet at little expense, but it may be doubted whether any king who had the honour of the poet's acquaintance could have afforded such a piece of iron-work. At any rate the poet does not profess to have seen them—they are the gates of Tartarus. The axle, again, of E 723 is part of Hera's chariot, which in other respects also is constructed regardless of expense.

On the other hand, the club of H 141 and 144 does seem to have been real. It is spoken of in a tone which implies that it was quite a new invention, if not a luxury, and the owner evidently felt considerable pride in it—more indeed than was warranted by the actual performances of the new weapon:—

οὐ κορύνη οἱ δλεθρον  
χραΐσμε σιδερεΐη.

The axes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the knives of Σ 34 and Ψ 30, the arrow-head of Δ 123 and the (possible) plough-share of Ψ 834 may also



safely be regarded as things which the poet had actually seen and not as merely 'poetic apparatus.'

The first question with regard to them is whether these implements imply a very advanced knowledge of iron and a very large quantity of metal for their manufacture. As to the axes, commentators seem agreed that they were mainly made of bronze and that only a small portion of iron was employed in them (Ameis on  $\phi$  61 and Helbig *Hom. Ep.* p. 76 n. 7). As to the plough-share, no one, who remembers how extremely primitive the Greek plough was, will maintain that more than a very small amount of metal would be required in order to tip it with a point of iron. The knives may be assumed to have been small; and the arrow-head obviously was not a large affair.

On the whole, I think, the blade of an axe, the point of a plough-share, a knife, an arrow-head and a knob on the end of a stick do not necessarily imply that the Iron Age was far advanced. This impression is strengthened when we think of the many things which might have been made of iron—which in later Greek time were indeed made of iron—but in Homer's time were exclusively made in bronze:—corslets, greaves, shields, helmets, swords, hammers, tongs, anvils, etc.

Small however as was the use made of iron in Homer, it may have been greater than was possible in the Mycenaean period. Let us therefore, next, consider this point. To begin with, we must not lay too much stress on the fact that no arrow-heads or adzes of iron have been yet discovered at Mycenae—for neither have any bronze arrows or axes been found, and yet we may be quite sure that they were in use, for two-edged axes are depicted more than once on gold rings etc. True, bronze knives have been discovered, whereas knives of iron have not, but the former were more numerous than the latter. On the other hand, strange to say, we have actually come across something very like the club of Arêithous (H 141): Schliemann says, 'there were found two lumps of iron....One of them has a large square hole on its better preserved side, and it probably served as the handle of a staff' (S.'s Report on the Excavations at Troy in 1890, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 332). Take the stick by the right end and you have a club.

It may however be said, 'Doubtless arrows and adzes and knives of iron might rust away, if they were there, but were they ever there?' Dr. Schuchhardt would seem to be inclined to answer 'no,' on the ground that the iron found at Mycenae takes the form of finger-rings, 'which show that this metal was considered costly and only worked into trinkets' (*Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 296). Was iron 'only worked into trinkets' in the time of Pliny, who testifies to the use of iron rings amongst the Lacedaemonians of his day (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 49)? Was iron rare at the end of the Roman republic, when iron rings were still in use? Was it 'considered costly' in the time of Aristophanes, who puts the price of rings at a drachma (*Plut.* 883), and even at three obols (*Thesm.* 425)? On the contrary, it appears that iron may be fairly abundant and finger-rings yet be worn of iron.



Further—though I only advance this as an *argumentum ad hominem*—Dr. Schuchhardt, Dr. Leaf and Mr. Flinders Petrie seem to consider that in the Mycenaean period a lively intercourse by sea was carried on between Greece, the Isles and Egypt. Now, since iron was known so early in the last-named country, ought not Drs. Schuchhardt and Leaf and Mr. Petrie to expect to find it known in Mycenae, perhaps not to the same extent as in Egypt, but at any rate to the same limited extent as it is in Homer?

The old-fashioned view was that it was the Phoenicians who introduced the Iron Age into Greece: 'die Lehrmeister der Griechen in der Gewinnung und Bearbeitung der Metalle sind bekanntlich die Phönikier gewesen,' says Blümner (*Tech. u. Term. d. Gewerbe und Künste*, IV. i. 3). And the presence of iron in Homer is in harmony with the part played by the Phoenicians in the Homeric poems. Dr. Schuchhardt, however, will not have the Phoenicians in Mycenae: the people of the Mycenaean age 'had not, like the Greeks of the following period, given up to the Phoenicians all commercial intercourse with each other and with Egypt, but had carried it on themselves. The commercial supremacy of the Phoenicians in the Archipelago began in the next period' (p. 318). But if this is so, it is difficult to understand how Homer can have lived in the Mycenaean period. The influence of the Phoenicians on Homeric civilization is far too considerable, if we may trust Helbig, to be explained away. But let that pass. If there was any iron at all in Mycenae, then, whether brought by the Phoenicians or imported direct from Egypt, it was probably to be found in Mycenae in quite as large quantities as it is in Homer.

But was there any iron in Mycenae? It is strange, though not of any decisive importance, that finger-rings of iron, though known to have been worn in very ancient times in Greece, especially in Lacedaemonia, are conspicuous by their absence in Homer. The discovery of the two lumps of iron in the Burnt City of Troy does indeed at first sight seem to make the discovery of finger-rings at Mycenae intelligible. But the total absence of any finds of iron in the shaft-graves of Mycenae makes it hard to believe that iron was really known in the much earlier time of the Burnt City.

Schliemann, let us remember, found an iron knife at Troy, apparently belonging to the fourth or fifth pre-historic city, which, however, he felt forced to attribute to the Lydian city: 'the weight of the iron would easily account for its having sunk to the depth at which it was found' (*Ilios*, p. 604). And are the finger-rings, whose discovery in 1888 caused 'the doubts aroused by the total absence of iron' to 'entirely disappear' (Schuchhardt p. 314), part of the find of iron articles which Schliemann (*Mycenae*, 74 f.) assigns to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.? Doubtless, however, Dr. Schuchhardt has conclusive reasons for assigning the rings to the Mycenaean period, and one would have been interested to see them stated in *Schliemann's Excavations*.

In conclusion: (1) it is absolutely opposed to the facts of the case to

say that iron is more common in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, or in the later lays of the *Iliad* than it is in the older; (2) the Homeric poems must be placed in the Iron Age—but at the very beginning of that Age; (3) if Homer—even the oldest of him—lived in the Mycenaean period, iron must have been known in that period; (4) if iron was not known in that period, then even the oldest lays must be posterior to that period.

F. B. JEVONS.



ON THE  
ANCIENT HECATOMPEDON WHICH OCCUPIED THE SITE  
OF THE  
PARTHENON ON THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

(*Second Article.*)

DR. DÖRPFELD, as was to be expected, has published in the *Mittheilungen*<sup>1</sup> an answer to my article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1891.

Excepting in two corrections of detail, of which I recognize the value, and shall have occasion to make mention in the proper place, he does not appear to me to have shaken in the slightest degree the position that I took up, namely, that the great sub-basement wall under the south flank of the Parthenon was built for a temple named the Hecatompedon anterior by many years to the time of Cimon, and that the remains of large limestone architraves frieze and cornice in the north wall of the Acropolis belonged to that temple and not to the archaic temple of Athene near the Erechtheum, the discovery of which will always be associated with Dr. Dörpfeld's name. I must assume that the readers of this article will have before them both my original paper in the *Hellenic Journal*, already referred to, and Dr. Dörpfeld's answer in the *Mittheilungen* which, so far as it affects my argument, I will endeavour to answer point by point.

In p. 161 of the *Mittheilungen* it is said that I have made a mistake in denying that stones from buildings of pre-Persic time had been used in the sub-basement wall.—What I did say was this—‘That the great wall of the sub-basement is entirely composed of squared blocks, without a single *architectural* fragment that can bear witness to the ravages of the Persians embedded in it.’ There *are* a few squared stones which have been re-used, but, as far as their appearance goes, it is just as likely they may have come from some building re-modelled by the Athenians themselves, previous to the Persian invasion. The Cimonian south wall of the Acropolis is very different. In this wall there are not only such squared stones, but frusta of columns, capitals and portions of entablature, which admit of discussion as to their date; but in the sub-basement wall there are none of these. It is extremely probable, and not wanting in evidence—but which would require

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<sup>1</sup> *Mittheilungen des K. Arch. Instituts Athen*, 1892, XVII.



too long a digression to be introduced here—that the Hecatompedon for which I contend was itself the successor of an older temple, of large scale in its architectural members, which occupied part of the same site. This or some other old structure could have furnished the squared blocks which Dr. Dörpfeld speaks of in the above cited place, without calling in Persian agency; and if it be objected that the above supposition rests on no historic foundation it may be answered that the intervention of Cimon in this structure has no more.

I am entirely at issue with Dr. Dörpfeld in saying in the same page, 161, that the wall was built without scaffolding, but that earth and broken stone fragments were deposited to a depth equal to the height of one or two courses at a time, as might be required for building up the wall without scaffolding. Loose material such as this, unless consolidated by abundance of water, an element not likely to have been available on the Acropolis, and allowed to dry, would indeed have formed a very poor substitute for scaffolding for heavy work. The photograph—whether that given in p. 290 of the *Hellenic Journal* or in Pl. IX. of the *Mittheilungen*—does not show much conformity in the thickness of these strata in connection with the courses of the masonry, but it does show the remarkable evenness of level of the strata themselves. Any architect or engineer who has seen works carried on under at all similar circumstances, must have noticed how the ground has been cut up and furrowed by the traction and pitching down of heavy material. I do not express only my own opinion on this point. The thin even lines of porous stone chips, shown in the photograph, and referred to in page 162 of the *Mittheilungen*, are quite inconsistent with the explanation there given. Had they arisen from dressing the blocks of the wall they would have been pounded and mixed in with the general mass of the terrace. These chips, when Ross and Ziller saw them on the sides of small excavations, may easily have been interpreted by them in the sense quoted; but they offer quite a different appearance when seen in their whole bearing, as in the photograph of the complete excavation—namely this—that as each layer of earth and other rubbish, as it was then thought—now our priceless treasure—was thrown in 3, 4 or 5 feet thick as it might be, the top of each surface was metalled, as it is called in road-making, with these stone chips; of which there must have been an abundance on the Acropolis from the repairs which were in progress; so that the layers might be the more effectually rammed and consolidated. For it was obviously of great importance that this earth work should afterwards subside as little as possible.

As respects the idea of building the wall by scaffolding, there need be nothing surprising in this. Scaffolding would have been required afterwards for the upper parts of the temple, and the wall itself, by means of its frequent projecting blocks, would have amply supplied the places of the holes which are called *putlog* holes used in modern and mediaeval scaffolding.

Thirty feet or more of loose earth and broken rubbish would have furnished a very insecure foundation for the timbering required for the great architrave stones of a temple built immediately on the top of the wall.



In saying (*Mittheilungen*, p. 163) that until after the Persian war squared blocks were not used in foundation work, it is remarkable that Dr. Dörpfeld should ignore the evidence found in the foundations of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens,<sup>2</sup> of regular courses of limestone blocks in the work of Peisistratus, which are easily discriminated from the later masonry of Antiochus Epiphanes.

(1) They are built at an angle differing by  $2^\circ$  from the lines of the later temple.

(2) In one place at least they underlie the later walls.

(3) In several places they were found where they could be of no use to the later temple.

(4) In several places the later walls are composed of blocks similar to those found as above, and obviously taken from the earlier walls, but with the joint surfaces misplaced.

These Piræic stone blocks of the time of Peisistratus are laid upon the very rock. There is much polygonal jointed work in a harder stone used in the foundations of the later temple—generally in the bottom course only—but none that I found which could be attributed to the work of Peisistratus. The probability is that, when the hard mountain limestone was used, polygonal jointing was employed, even to a tolerably late period; but that the softer tertiary of Piræus would have been used in rectangular blocks from an early date.

So far from the correction in p. 163 of the *Mittheilungen* of the view I had advanced in the *Hellenic Journal* of the purpose of the trench, which at some time or other had been dug through the deposit against the eastern part of the great wall, being for me an unlucky blunder (*unangenehmes Versehen*), it has proved a strong confirmation of my main view. Firstly, it removes the difficulty I felt, and had expressed in the passage referred to (p. 281), in accounting for the difference of workmanship in the supposed extension of the south wall eastwards, when compared with that of the addition under the west front northwards, on the theory that both were parts of the Pericleian construction. And secondly, because it shows that when the sub-basement of the ancient Hecatompèdon is extended to the extreme east angle, giving it a length of 252·443 ft. = 76·943 m., and the addition of 20·81 feet is given to the eastern margin, which becomes 41·37 feet = 12·612 m., there results an accurate simple proportion between the two contiguous margins; viz. the flank margin 17·272 and the east margin as above. The proportion is that of 5 to 12. But this east margin is also found upon the sub-basement marks, in the same section as that upon which the values of the western and flank margins occur, namely *OS*; for *OS* measures 41·404 feet and five-twelfths of this quantity = 17·251. Thus the information gained that the trench referred to had nothing to do with Pericleian times, instead of shaking my general argument has materially strengthened it. But although the main body of the wall is of the same date, there seems

<sup>2</sup> Given in detail in *Principles of Athenian Architecture*.

nevertheless to be legitimate ground for considering that so much of the course which contains the panels as extends from above the letter Y in my plan to the eastern extremity exhibits work of a somewhat later period than the rest, on account of the different detail of these panels. As the figure in the *Mittheilungen*, p. 168, representing the angle of the Parthenon front at north-west does not show the panels quite accurately, it may be desirable to introduce them here, side by side with those under consideration (see Figs. 1 and 2). As the two sets of panels are so different, there is some difficulty in supposing that the original builders of the sub-basement wall could have intended to make a variation on the two sides of the wall, which must have come in conflict with each other at the south-west angle; but it is quite

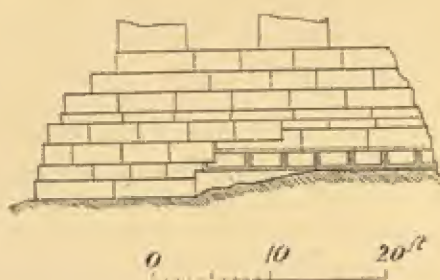


FIG. 1.

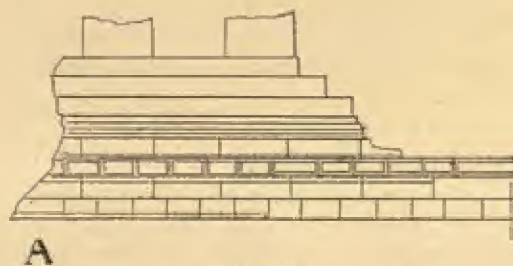


FIG. 2.

reasonable to suppose that in the time of Pericles, when it was clearly intended that on the west front the panel course should be covered by the pavement, a variety may have been introduced; but, for some cause or other, was never carried out further than the six panels referred to at the east end. Or it may possibly have been that that particular course, in the part where these more elaborate panels occur, was damaged by the fall of some portion of the structure and was repaired in the manner which we see. I still therefore attribute the workmanship of these six panels to the time of Pericles, though not any part of the wall below them.

As respects the limestone courses, which Dr. Dörpfeld in p. 165, *Mittheilungen*, holds for the *undoubted* steps of the older temple—I consider them in the highest degree unlikely to have been so; and for the following



reasons—I will however omit all that I might have urged against what is said in p. 166 to have been of his two alternatives the favourite one; viz. that the comparatively small stones of course 20 could have been the stylobate of his restored temple; because I have learnt by correspondence with Dr. Dörpfeld himself that, upon further consideration, he adopts the other alternative shown by the dotted lines in his plan and sections, with larger stones placed upon the former, giving therefore an additional step to the temple. Let me first call attention to the profile of this limestone course (see Fig. 3). The usual profile of stylobate courses is either that of a riser with one single face, as in the Parthenon and the Temple of Theseus, or with one or two very narrow sinkings near the bottom of the riser, as at the Temple of Jupiter at

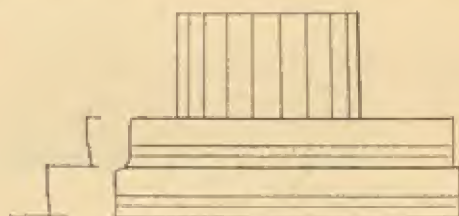


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

Olympia and the Propylaea at Athens. Whenever this feature is introduced, there still remains the broad upper facia to contrast with the flutings of the columns, and to give the appearance of a strong basis of support to the vertical lines; the artistic value of which will be apparent when the two Figures 3 and 4 are compared with one another.

I much doubt if any single example can be found of the riser of a stylobate cut up in the fashion of this limestone course.<sup>3</sup> Certainly in no good example is there anything approaching it. Whereas if this course be considered as the capping of the great podium, which supported the marginal platform shown on the plan advocated in this *Journal*, no such incongruity occurs; neither does the narrowness of these stones when seen in front, nor their great length at right angles to their front, both of which are hard to

<sup>3</sup> A stone was found in 1891 by Mr. Waddington at Plataea of a similar section, but not *in situ*, and therefore without any evidence that

it had belonged to the stylobate of the temple he was excavating.

understand of stones forming the step below the stylobate,<sup>4</sup> introduce any difficulty whatever, considered in connection with their use as a podium.

I am by no means prepared to acquiesce in the demand, p. 168, *Mittheilungen*, that the scheme of a terrace surrounding the temple should be dismissed without further argument than that it would have been a wasteful expense; and I affirm this mainly for the reasons already given in the *Hellenic Journal*. It was usual to surround a temple with a peribolus of some sort. Here in the citadel, before the city itself was fortified, the greatest economy of space must have been demanded. The peribolus was therefore restricted to the smallest size compatible with use and propriety. But we also know from the general character of the works of the ancients that they were not so much actuated as the moderns are by the fear of outlay; and as the supposed terrace would be required for an important purpose, they would not have grudged the thirty-foot wall required for its support. No doubt the builders of the wall would have intended as soon as possible after it was finished to have levelled up the earth to the height marked out for the pavement, but some cause—not hard to imagine—occurred to hinder this part of the work; so that it remained incomplete until post-Persic times.

In page 170, *Mittheilungen*, are calculations on the length and breadth of the proposed Cimonian temple, including the measure of the columniation (*arweite*), from which we gather that on the fronts this last measure, on the single step theory, would be 4.24m., and if with an additional step, 4.13m., 13.911 and 13.550 feet respectively. For the reason before given, we need only discuss the latter. I propose to show that 13.550 feet is too great an allowance, and to such an extent as to vitiate the proportions of the suggested temple. Beginning with the breadth of the front, on the top of the three facia course, which now is proposed as the step below the stylobate, this is given as 30.50m. = 100.068 feet. From this we are to deduct the double breadth of the tread. Dr. Dörpfeld reckons this at 0.90m. = 2.947 feet. But this breadth does not compare well with the height of the riser, which could not have been less than that of the three facia course, as restored to its full thickness, before it was reduced by the builders of the Parthenon, namely 1.725 feet, = 0.526m. This, with the 0.45m. assumed for the tread, would give a proportion of riser to tread of 1.168. But we must enquire what were the proportions given by the Greek architects to their steps. The following is a list of examples giving the riser in terms of the tread:

Corinth . . . . .	1'
Jupiter at Olympia . . . . .	1'
Aegina . . . . .	1.028
Theseum . . . . .	.963
Rhamnus . . . . .	.940
Propylaea, Athens . . . . .	.845
Bassae . . . . .	.790
Parthenon . . . . .	.734

From the above we obtain an average of .913.

<sup>4</sup> See the remarks on this difficulty in p. 166 of the *Mittheilungen*.



As however there are several examples of equality, we may take that ratio as allowable. We must then deduct from 100·068, for the two steps, 3·450, making the breadth of the front on the upper step 96·618 feet or 29·449m.

Next we have to enquire what is the proper proportion of the distance from the angle of the step to the second column in Doric temples, and we obtain the ratio of these angle spaces from the following examples, the ordinary columniation being considered unity :

	Front.	Flank.
The Heraeum at Olympia . . . . .	1·121	1·260
Corinth . . . . .	1·129	1·181
Jupiter at Olympia, from the newly published measures . . . . .	1·147	1·142
Aegina . . . . .	1·137	1·137
Theseum . . . . .	1·151	1·149
Bassae . . . . .	1·164	1·161
Rhamnus . . . . .	1·124	1·124
Parthenon . . . . .	1·096	1·097

The general mean for the fronts is 1·134, for the flanks 1·149.

If the ordinary columniation were to measure 4·13m., the supposed Cimonian temple would show a proportion of 1·083 instead of the legitimate value 1·134. It should be observed that the value which obtains in the Parthenon ought not to guide the proportions of the proposed temple because its angle spaces are obviously ruled by the extreme narrowness of the ambulatories.<sup>5</sup>

Adopting the mean derived from the fronts as above, the total breadth on the upper step 96·618 is to be divided by 7·268 (five normal and two of 1·134 each) to obtain the columniation, which instead of 13·550 become 13·294; and the flank columniation works out 13·448, which would be more than that on the front—an unlikely combination. See the remarks on this head, p. 172 *Mittheilungen*.

We must now see what sort of proportion we ought to find between the diameter of the column and the intercolumniation from the following examples, in which the diameter of the column is taken as the unit :

	Intercolumn.
Parthenon . . . . .	1·250
Corinth . . . . .	1·289
Propylaea, Athens . . . . .	1·330
Jupiter at Olympia . . . . .	1·370
Bassae . . . . .	1·391
Sunium . . . . .	1·470
Theseum . . . . .	1·541
Aegina . . . . .	1·563
Rhamnus . . . . .	1·723

General mean 1·437.

<sup>5</sup> In p. 174, *Mittheilungen*, attention is called to the narrowness of the north and south peristyles, and it is accounted for by the width

of the cella necessary to give proper effect to the statue. I have remarked at length on this point in p. 287 of my previous article in this



But in the hypothetical temple with a columniation of 13·294 and a diameter = 6·233 feet, the intercolumn becomes in relation to the column only 1·133, which is pycnostyle to an inadmissible degree. I have therefore shown that the hypothetical temple would have been out of harmony with all its antecedents, both in the configuration and proportion of its steps, and the ratio of its intercolumniations.

With respect to the mistake with which I am credited in page 172 of the *Mittheilungen*, in speaking of certain hard limestone materials as marble, I have made no such mistake. I had seen and measured one of these limestone pieces in the immediate neighbourhood of the marble drums in the north wall (one there certainly is, there may be more), exactly resembling the three fascia course which crowns the great podium which has lately been under discussion, and I have seen another which has been re-used by the builders of the Parthenon near the south-west angle. I do not confound these with the marble steps I described in the *Hellenic Journal*, of which I have drawn and measured upwards of thirty, of a scantling very suitable for the lower or middle step of a great temple.

In p. 177, *Mittheilungen*, is given a transverse section of the proposed Cimonian temple, showing the aid which could have been given by its foundations to the Parthenon. That this was not at all more advantageous than what the hexastyle Hecatompædon could have supplied, will appear from the accompanying transverse section (Fig. 5) taken through the middle of the naos.

The unfinished marble drums, referred to at the end of p. 180, *Mittheilungen*, which were at various places buried in the mass of the terrace work, are very difficult to explain except by the cause suggested in my previous article, pp. 290—291. It is probable indeed that some few, especially of those found near the surface, were rejected on account of imperfection; but this will not by any means account for all, or even the greater number, of the buried drums. Several were found embedded in the inside courses of the south or Cimonian wall.

In p. 181, *Mittheilungen*, reference is made to my supposition that the partly worked marble drums built into the north wall were materials prepared by Peisistratus or his sons for rebuilding the poros stone Hecatompædon, with the objection that, had he so intended, there was no foundation prepared for such an operation. This remark entirely begs the question: for the great sub-basement wall according to the view I advocate was ready to his hand.

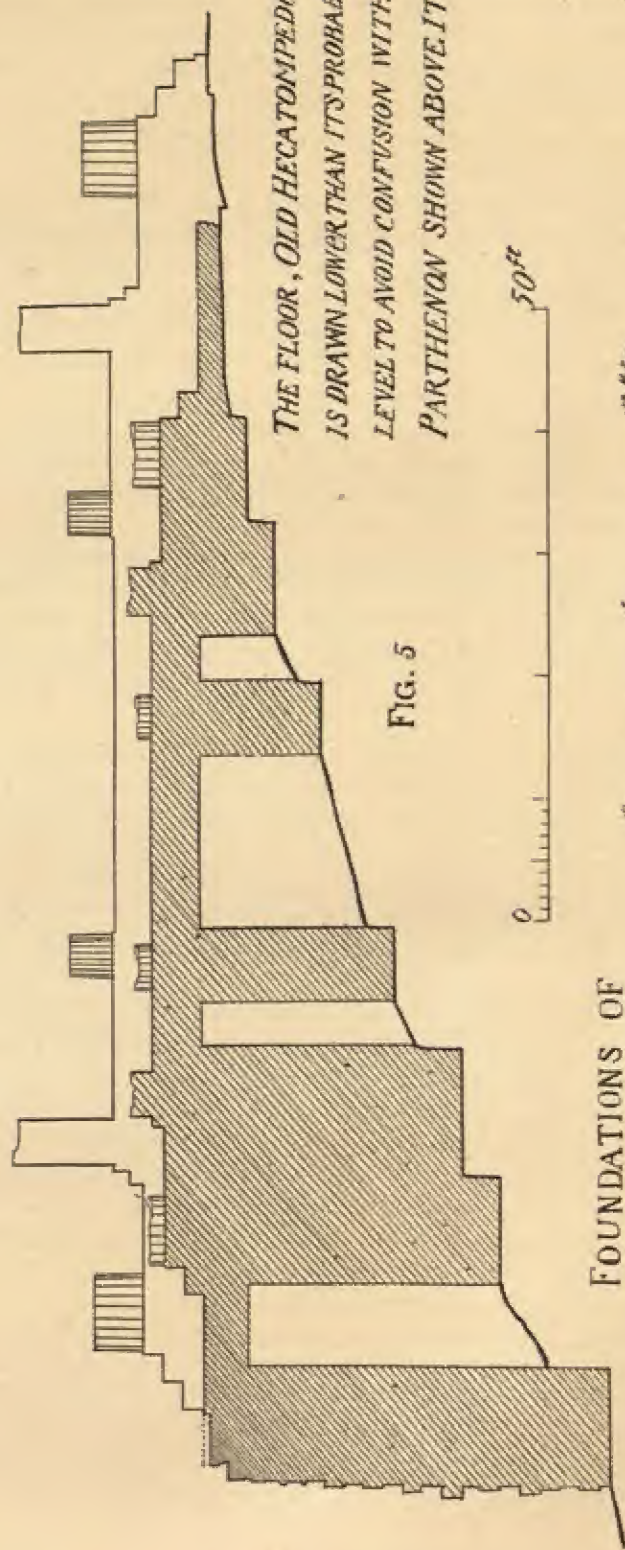
Leaving the Parthenon, and turning to the archaic temple, and in answer to my arguments that the stylobate of that temple would not admit of the use of columns of a diameter proportioned to the other architectural

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*Journal*, where I have shown how the position of the walls of the old Hecatompædon would have led to it. There is nothing however antagonistic in the two explanations, which may both have been present in the mind of the builders of the Parthenon. The statue how-

ever would chiefly require breadth in the central division of the naos, and the side aisles, so to call them, need not have been made so wide, except for some other reason than the proper reception of the statue.





FOUNDATIONS OF  
HECATOMPEDON.

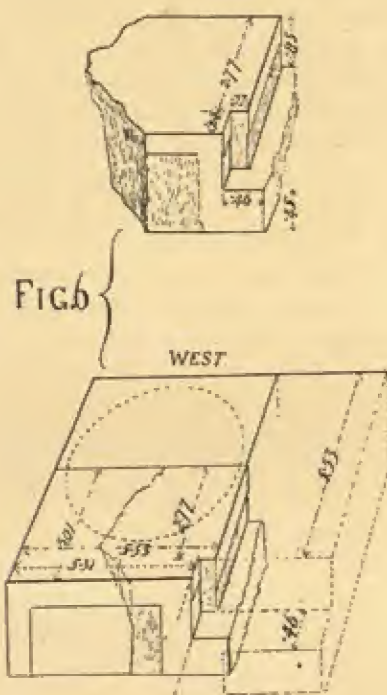
FIG. 5

*THE FLOOR, OLD HECATOMPEDON,  
IS DRAWN LOWER THAN ITS PROBABLE  
LEVEL TO AVOID CONFUSION WITH  
PARTHENON SHOWN ABOVE IT.*

0 50<sup>ft</sup>

0 10 Meters

members which Dr. Dörpfeld claims for it, he asks, What is to hinder a stylobate of 1·85m. = 6·070 feet on the fronts? I answer—The stylobate of 1·59m. on the flank = 5·210 feet on the south side, and the other stylobates—those lying near the Parthenon—which seem to have been taken from the north flank measuring 5·320 and 5·310 feet = 1·62m. But even 1·85m., though far too great to be associated with the flank stylobates, would be insufficient for the old poros stone drums measuring *at least* 5·75 feet or 1·76m.; for such a diameter, according to architectural analogy, a stylobate would be required of 1·93m. = 6·350 feet.



I do not think it necessary to make an apology to the general reader for not attending to Dr. Dörpfeld's dictum disallowing the use of analogies with reference to this temple, 'es ist nicht zulässig nach den Proportionen anderer Tempel zu berechnen,' p. 182. He indeed endeavours to support this extraordinary claim by citing the difference between the breadth of the triglyphs in the old entablatures; those over the architraves which had belonged to the front of the temple being 0·82m. broad, whilst those which were used on the flank are 0·75m. (respectively 2·720 and 2·480 feet), a proportion of about 12 to 11. But suppose instead of the triglyphs the ratio between the breadth of the metopes is considered, we find the dimensions 1·193m. = 3·914 feet to compare with 1·158m. = 3·800 feet, which is about the



ratio of 36 to 35. The extra breadth of the triglyphs was doubtless so given, that it might enable the metopes to be nearly equal to each other. It lends no possible support to the theory of columns with more than four times the excess between front and flank, of any known example.

At the end of p. 181 there is a reference to a fragment from the stylobates of the archaic temple, of which I give a cut (Fig. 6), and this fragment is adduced as evidence that the flank stylobate varied in its width by the amount of the *rebate*, which measures  $\cdot 22$  feet =  $0\cdot 067$ m., so that it might be supposed that the columns also varied in their diameter on the same colonnade. This explanation of the fragment is so entirely at variance with Greek, or indeed any architectural practice, that the reader will, I think, have no difficulty in dismissing it as untenable. In Plate XVIII. of the article in the *Hellenic Journal* for 1891 I had suggested one of the internal angles of the stylobate as the proper place for this stone. At the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, and in other examples, we find in such situations stones cut in this manner. Dr. Dörpfeld, p. 182, *Mittheilungen*, says that the jointing of this stone forbids the position I had chosen for it—and he is right—so far, that is to say, as the placing it at the north-west angle is concerned; but in placing it at the south-west angle the difficulty is very slight indeed. It only requires to be assumed that this stone was in the first instance dressed for one of the fronts, but was finally used for the flank, at the south-west angle, having been turned round 90 degrees. That is to say, having been first prepared for such a position as B on Fig. 7, it was adapted for use at A, and then the

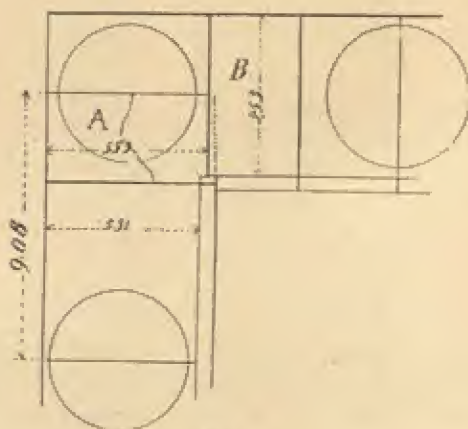


FIG. 7.

notch was cut out, to make it suit the rather narrower stylobate. The lower bed of the adjoining stone would have had to be adjusted to it, as the projection which had been left on it for the support of the pavement was only partially cut off; but this, so far from being bad construction, would have been rather useful, being of the nature of a *joggle*, to key the work

together. Of the two this appears to me to be by far the more probable explanation of this fragment.

Assuming that the above given position is the true one, we may obtain from it the actual width of the stylobate of the front, in the following manner. The stylobate stones found near the Parthenon may, with much confidence, be assigned to the south flank of the temple. They all agree in width within the smallest fraction and are only one-tenth of a foot in excess of the stone *in situ* on the north side, viz., 5·313 against 5·210 (1·62m. to 1·59). This width with the *rebate* added becomes 5·533; and this I accept for the width of the original stylobate on the fronts: and that is confirmed in this manner, namely, the measure of this fragment from the joint to the notch which I have called the *rebate* is 2·770 feet. This joint then, placed as I have shown it on the figure, would fall exactly upon the middle line of the front stylobate; and the angle column would have had its centre, according to the plan so often adopted, exactly upon the joint. In p. 293 of the *Hellenic Journal* of 1891 I deduced by analogy, starting from the known width of the flank stylobates, a measure for those of the front amounting to 5·430 feet: with which this recovered dimension of 5·533 agrees sufficiently closely. If we place, as I have suggested on the plan (Fig. 7), one of the stones now lying near the Parthenon side by side with the stone which has been under discussion, we have an extent of  $3·01 + 6·07 = 9·08$  feet for the angle columniation, but the Ionic theory is by no means limited to the octastyle arrangement. It would suit as well, if not better, as hexastyle, with twelve columns on the flank; and these would not be more *arcostyle* than those of the Ionic temples of Juno at Samos or Diana at Ephesus.

In p. 182, *Mittheilungen*, Dr. Dörpfeld, referring to the stone *in situ*, contends that the stylobate there had originally a width of 1·73 metres = 5·676 feet, but was afterwards reduced by 0·14m. = ·46 feet in some alteration of the pavement. It is true that there is something irregular in the jointing of that stone, of which a drawing is here given, Fig. 8: but I cannot think this

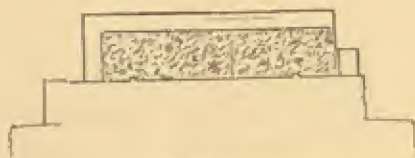


FIG. 8.

view to be tenable. In the first place, the foundation which carries this stone does not favour the suggestion. A stone wider than the present by ·46 feet would have overhung the supports, which is very unlikely. Again the *rebate* prepared for the pavement has exactly the same projection in other stones taken from the stylobate of this temple, where no such



irregularity appears. Such trimming of the stylobate would not help the question of the diameter of the columns, unless it had been done at a later period than their erection. If done beforehand, the reduced width would still be a stylobate considered wide enough for the columns. If however it had been done whilst the columns were standing, it is difficult to see how it could have been done without serious injury to their appearance. A mere surface repair would not have required the stylobates cut down, as these are, to a depth of more than ten inches. I think there is an easier explanation, and one which would affect this stone only, by supposing that the workman, to whom had been intrusted the preparation of this stone and its smooth margins, had made the mistake of omitting the *rebate* wanted for the pavement, and that this had afterwards to be cut when it was brought to the temple for fixing.

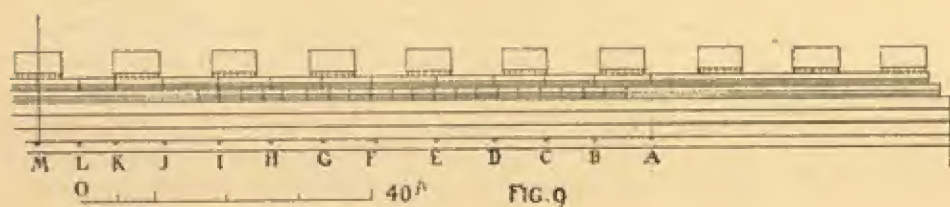
We now come to a point to which I certainly still attach much value, namely the chiselled marks on the sub-basement wall (see *Mittheilungen*, page 183). It is a matter of no consequence in respect of the arguments deducible from them, but my acquaintance with these ancient records was not one of the many observations for which I gratefully acknowledge myself indebted to Dr. Dörpfeld; but it came to me through the late Mr. Wood, the explorer of Ephesus. With regard to the number of these marks, 19, I had examined the wall very carefully and was satisfied that there was only one place on the course, and on the level at which they occur, where it is possible that an additional mark might have once existed and been lost. Where this occurs I have purposely skipped a letter, namely N. As to the criticism in page 183, *Mittheilungen*, that this enquiry is a mere useless play upon numbers ('wertlose zahlenspielerien'), it is simply begging the question. Certainly Dr. Dörpfeld is right in saying that the Greek architect would, if employing these marks, have taken pains to make them intelligible to the workmen: but what was to have hindered him from writing in colour on the wall by letters or other symbols the significance of these marks, and also supplying tablets in some proper place, corresponding to the Clerk of Works' office used in modern operations, which would give all requisite information as to their meaning? The carefully chiselled marks have been preserved to us, but the painted letters of explanation would have of course disappeared from lapse of time.

The choice of the dimensions of the restored temple, supposed to be recoverable from the marks, is not quite so arbitrary as Dr. Dörpfeld considers it to be (p. 184, *Mittheilungen*). The first process at every step, before consulting the marks, was to calculate from analogy derived from a great many examples what the measure of any particular part was likely to be; and in almost every instance where a suitable correspondence was found, a very important confirmation of the probable correctness of the step resulted from its position on the sub-basement series, showing a clear relationship to the part under consideration. In the previous article in the *Hellenic Journal*, p. 284, I had called sufficient attention to this branch of the proof, but the evidence there adduced is still further strengthened by finding the length of



the eastern margin in the same group as that of the western and flank margins, as stated above in an earlier page of this article.

Throughout page 185, Dr. Dörpfeld shows that he has misunderstood my argument respecting the relationship between these marks and the measure of the columniation. I have nowhere stated that the builders were to seek for this measure from the approximate values of its multiples. The angular spaces were indeed pointed out, and pointed out accurately, but as the extreme points of the upper step were given, the ordinary columniation would be got by simple subdivision. The harmony shown by the groups of multiples of the columniation had indeed led me to what is, I believe, the solution of the problem, and as such I introduced them to the readers of the article. The slight variations which occur amongst them are exactly what would naturally arise from the architect in the free exercise of his discretion, introducing, for various reasons, slight departures from exact proportionality in different details. But it was not unreasonable to conclude that as these groups of multiples are so numerous, they can point out *to us*—not to the original builders—a more exact value of the two varieties of columniation, than can be obtained from the much smaller number of actual architrave



stones which remain to us—and what is the amount of the correction? In one case '030 feet, the other '026, one centimetre and nine millimetres respectively. Whatever portions of the temple were intended to be pointed out by the distances between the marks would have been intended to have been exactly copied. After concluding that the explanation I have given of these marks is to be put aside without further thought, Dr. Dörpfeld proceeds (p. 186, *Mittheilungen*) to give an explanation of his own. I do not say that he pins his entire case upon it, but I grant that if it were successful it would seriously damage mine. However the Hecatompædon theory will quite bear the comparison. The test is this. If the three fascia course be supposed to be the second step from the top, and the proper stylobate is to be raised upon it, it would be necessary that it should break joint, and the marks were put to guide the workmen in placing the heading joints of the stylobate vertically over them. One would have thought that when this lower course had been fixed, it would not have been necessary to devise such an elaborate contrivance, four courses below, to guide the masons in this very simple operation; but, supposing it to have been so, we can see how far the marks would have served their purpose. The Figure (9) which represents the

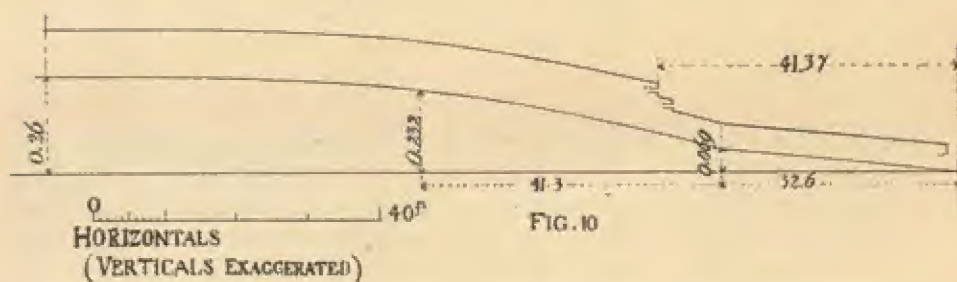


eastern half of the south flank will exhibit the amount of success which would have ensued.

Starting from a vertical line passing through the mark A, and measuring westwards, the distance to the first complete stone of the three fascia course which remains, and which is called No. 1 in the subjoined list, is 3.50 feet. The measures to the joints of those which fall nearest to the marks will be found below:

Measurements from A to joints of the three fascia course.		Measurements from A to the different marks.	Differences.	Metre Scale.
Stone No. 1	3.50 ft.			
2	6.42 "	7.87 to B	1.45 ft.	0.444
5	15.44 "	14.75 " C	0.69 "	0.210
7	21.31 "	21.77 " D	0.46 "	0.140
10	30.12 "	29.80 " E	0.32 "	0.097
13	38.02 "	38.71 " F	0.21 "	0.064
15	44.75 "	45.70 " G	0.95 "	0.290
18	53.75 "	52.60 " H	1.15 "	0.377
20	59.75 "	59.78 " I	0.03 "	0.009

In the eight cases above given, all but two are utterly inapplicable to the joint breaking theory. The figure also shows how very unsatisfactorily the joints of the stylobate would have worked with columns arranged according to the proposed plan of the Cimonian temple. In page 187, *Mittheilungen*, reference is made to the curvature of the horizontal lines, which is found to obtain on the more finished courses of this wall, as distinctly as on the steps



of the Parthenon above them. This feature does not at all militate against a very early date in this structure. Such curvature is found on the front of the very ancient temple at Corinth and both on front and flank of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. It was therefore already an accepted principle of construction at the date for which I am contending for the earlier Hecatompedon. Fig. 10 shows the form of this curvature on the eastern half of one of the upper lines of the sub-basement. The western half is almost symmetrical, except that it does not exhibit towards its extremity the contrary flexure of the curve, which the eastern portion does. This contrary flexure which occurs very near the eastern end of the stylobate of the temple, according to the theory advanced in this *Journal*, cannot but give a strong

support to that proposal; the more decided curvature would be required for the stylobate of the temple, but for the remainder of the podium, or margin, a gentler fall, sufficient for drainage, would have been enough. In this part I found a rise of  $\cdot 069$  in 32·6 feet = one in forty-seven, whereas in the next 21 feet westwards it increased to one in nineteen, and in the succeeding 20 feet the ratio of inclination is one in thirty-six. If the temple had been continued as far as the eastern extremity of the great wall, the inclination of the easternmost thirty feet would have been steeper instead of flatter.

In p. 189, *Mittheilungen*, the explanation is offered of the occasion when the marble drums were built into the north wall near the Erechtheum, namely, when the Athenians had suffered a great disaster near Tanagra, 'that part of the wall having been left unbuilt for the sake of hauling up stones in that quarter.' This view is unlikely, firstly, because the city walls being then complete, there could have been no necessity for such a scare as to require the wall to be built with such inconvenient and wasteful materials. On the Themistocleian occasion, although it may be, and doubtless is, true that Thucydides is primarily speaking of the city walls in the well-known passage cited p. 182, *Mittheilungen*, yet it is much more probable that the walls of the citadel would also have received attention and been made impregnable in that quarter near to which the Persians had effected their escalade; by hurrying thither materials left by the hated tyrants, there to remain, a permanent evidence of their baffled hopes.

Secondly, this view is still more improbable, in the suggestion that that part of the Acropolis should have been chosen for hauling up materials, which could, with so much greater convenience, both as to the road of access outside and the much easier ascent to the Acropolis itself, have been brought in by the ordinary western entrance.

Finally, although it must, I think, be admitted that the history of the antecedents of the Parthenon cannot as yet be brought into the domain of absolute certainty, it nevertheless appears to me that it may occupy a position of very high probability: and I leave with confidence to the reader the task of deciding whether the pre-Persic Hecatompedon or the Cimonian elder Parthenon comes nearest to this definition.

I ought not however to conclude without expressing my thanks to Dr. Dörpfeld for assisting me in obtaining some of the photographs from which I have felt obliged to draw conclusions different from his own.

F. C. PENROSE.



## THE PROCEDURE OF THE GORTYNIAN INSCRIPTION

I PROPOSE in the following article to inquire what can be determined concerning the procedure of the Gortynian Inscription. It is scarcely necessary to insist on the importance of the subject. This is the only document that we have that gives us an authentic record of the earlier stages of Greek law. The history of Greek law is little known; knowledge of it is most valuable for the light that it throws on the social and political life of Greece, and especially because it supplies a most important element in the comparative study of law. The legal side of history can never be neglected with impunity. Even though the Greeks never became such accomplished lawyers as the Romans, their legal and political institutions were closely connected, and our ignorance of their laws often prevents us from understanding their politics.

It is however for its relation to the laws of other nations that Greek law deserves chiefly to be studied. Our knowledge of the early legal antiquities of European races is still very limited. For the Teutonic and Scandinavian law we have a large quantity of evidence, some of it of the greatest value. To compare with this we have only the Slavonic and Celtic records. The former are not generally accessible; the political subjection and anarchy which has been the fate of nearly all Celtic races has prevented their law from having that practical importance which is necessary to its efficient development. Our knowledge of early Roman law is singularly scanty; the very great and unique development which—to a great extent from political reasons—it received in later times did away with most that was primitive in it. In Greece alone of all European races the highest political and literary achievements came at a time when the introduction of writing was so recent that law had not had time completely to supersede primitive custom. Greek cities in their highest prosperity still retained many of the usages peculiar to the tribal communities from which they had grown. An examination of Greek law, as it was even in the fifth and fourth centuries, may therefore, if properly interpreted, give many interesting points of comparison and contrast with the earliest records of German law.

There is another reason why Greek law is of peculiar value. It alone is certainly a purely indigenous growth. Even in the earliest records of the Teutonic races it is difficult to eliminate entirely the influence of Christianity. The very fact that the German records are chiefly in Latin betrays some



amount of influence from Roman civilization. Roman law—at least in the period at which our contemporary authorities begin—shows largely the influence of Greek thought and philosophy. In Greece alone no external influence is possible. Cretan, Spartan or Athenian law must have been the natural development from autochthonous custom.

Our chief difficulty in investigating the subject has been the want of technical evidence. This we have for the first time in the Gortynian inscription: there is every reason to believe that in the course of time similar inscriptions will be discovered in Crete or elsewhere. The evidence however is often very difficult to interpret. It is impossible to use the code for comparative purposes till its meaning has been established. I propose in this paper to confine myself to the elucidation of one point, that of procedure. Much in it must remain doubtful, and even incomprehensible; some points of considerable interest can however, I think, be established. I have occasionally added a few illustrations from other laws which seem to corroborate my interpretations.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the code all cases are tried before a single judge, or *δικαστής*: there is no trace of any trial before a jury for civil causes. It appears moreover as if the whole of a suit was tried before the same *δικαστής*. The code itself however contains a very important distinction as to the duties of this judge. In some cases he is required *δικάζειν*, and in some *ὀμνύντα κρίνειν*. With the exception of one doubtful passage,<sup>2</sup> the distinction is always maintained: when he 'gives judgment' (*δικάζει*) he does not take an oath; when he 'decides' (*κρίνει*) he always does. The distinction is not accidental: one passage contains an express reference to it and explains when each procedure is to be adopted.<sup>3</sup> Our first step then must be to ascertain the meaning of this distinction.

<sup>1</sup> The editions of the Inscription and comments on it to which I have had access are: FABRICIUS (*Mittheilungen des deutschen Archæologischen Instituts zu Athen*, Bd. ix.).—This contains a drawing of the inscription, with an edition founded partly on his own collation and partly on that of Halbherr. COMPARETTI (*Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, Vol. i.).—This also contains a copy of the original writing, with an edition in modern character as well as a translation and notes. This too is founded on the collation of Halbherr and Fabricius. These are the two authorities for the text: all other editions depend on them. BÜCHELER and ZITTELMANN in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 40<sup>ter</sup> Band, 1895, *Ergänzungsheft*, give an edition of the text with translation, notes on the language, and full legal commentary. This is the only edition which deals fully with the legal matter of the whole. It is supplemented by an article by the same writers on the two

smaller fragments in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1886. LEWY (Berlin, 1885) has published an edition of the text with translation and short notes. BAUNACK (Johannes and Theodor), Leipzig, 1885.—A text and translation, with elaborate notes on the dialect. JACOB SIMON (Vienna, 1886).—An edition of the first half, with translation and a valuable legal commentary. There is a translation into English by ROBY in the *Law Quarterly*, Vol. ii., and into French by DARESTE in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Vol. ix.; and an article with useful suggestions on legal points by BERNHÖFT in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Vol. vi. In transcription I have followed the spelling of the stone. I have however used the letters η and ω, neither of which occurs in the original.

<sup>2</sup> ix. 37.

<sup>3</sup> xi. 26.



Zittelmann, who has discussed the point, leaves it unsettled.<sup>4</sup> He states moreover in his discussion that 'there is no trace visible of a division of the procedure *in jure* and *in judicio* like that known in Attic and Roman law.' I hope to be able to show that the distinction between the two functions of the judge answers exactly to the distinction between the proceedings before the praetor and judex in Roman law, and to the distinction between *ἀνάκρισις* and *κρίσις* at Athens. The peculiarity of the Cretan is that both parts of the trial take place before the same person. This fact however makes the maintenance of the distinction in procedure all the more remarkable. It will also throw much light on many obscure points in the Attic and Roman law.

The proceedings at the *ἀνάκρισις* at Athens or *in jure* at Rome had the object, not as a rule of finally deciding the case, but of determining what exactly the object of dispute was. The magistrate before whom they took place had to see that all the formalities required by law or custom were complied with; the accuser or plaintiff had to state his case, to produce the documents or other formal evidence on which it was founded, and if the defendant was not present to show that with the proper formalities he had been summoned to appear. If the formalities were not complete the case was not proceeded with; if the defendant did not appear, although he had been summoned, or if he did not *in the manner and with the formalities prescribed by the law* deny the charge or claim made by the claimant, judgment was given for the claimant. Only if both sides had properly performed all that was required did the suit pass out of this stage; if however a point of law or fact remained to be decided for which the law provided no purely formal criterion, and which therefore required a consideration of the merits of the case and the evidence, then the *ἄρχων* or the praetor referred it to the decision of a *δικαστήριον* or a judex: before him the parties had to plead their cause, and prove it by argument or by evidence. The important point to notice is that in the first stage the magistrate is bound strictly by the letter of the law: the law orders that a man trying to recover a debt shall begin by doing certain actions and bringing his claims in a certain manner; if he does so, judgment follows for him as a matter of course, unless his opponent performs certain acts and with his friends says certain words; if both do as required, then the judge can do no more, he has to hand over the case thus defined to another court.

This distinction exactly answers to the distinction between the two functions of the *δικαστής* at Gortyn.

This is referred to in the following words:—

- xi. 26.—τὸν δικαστάν, ὅτι μὲν κατὰ μαιτύρανς ἔγραπται δικάδδεν ἢ ἀπόμοτον, δικάδδεν αἱ ἔγραπται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὁμνύντα κρίνειν πορτί τὰ μωλιόμενα.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 68, &c.



The judge, in whatever it has been written that he shall give judgment according to witnesses or oaths, shall give judgment as has been written, but in other matters he shall take an oath and decide according to the contentions.

The differences are thus that:—

*A.*—He δικάζει in those cases only where the law specially enjoins it; he is then bound to give judgment in accordance with the law, and in the judgment he is always bound either by witnesses or oaths.

*B.*—In all other cases where the law does not order him δικάζειν he decides himself. When he acts in this way, he himself takes an oath and decides on the contentions apparently freely, without being bound by law, witnesses or the oaths.

Now here the important words are κατὰ μαιύρας ἢ ἀπόμorton. We must first establish their meaning.

#### 1. *Witnesses (μαίυρες).*

It is this expression which has caused the difficulty in understanding the procedure. It has been assumed that the witnesses here referred to include witnesses whose evidence concerns the final matter of dispute between the parties. If this was the case it is clear that the real trial would take place before the δικαστής and so we should not have the distinction between κρίσις and ἀνάκρισις. The passages however in the law where witnesses are mentioned show that this is not the case. The μαίυρες are not witnesses to any fact; they are formal witnesses to the proper performance of processual acts. Before a man can bring a case into court he has to go through certain formalities, these must be performed before witnesses, the presence of the witnesses is necessary to the validity of the acts, and their statement is the proof required by the law that the acts have been performed. This proof has to be laid before the δικαστής or else the trial cannot proceed. Witnesses are also used to prove contracts, gifts, or transference of property; any actions of this kind to be finally valid must be performed before witnesses specially summoned for the purpose: if a lawsuit arises concerning this contract, their evidence on oath is final proof that the contract or transference did actually take place. If *e.g.* a man has made an engagement before witnesses to pay a sum of money at a certain date, and does not do so, his creditor when he brings the matter into court produces his witnesses who swear to and thereby prove the engagement. This is final on this point, the debtor (except and only by a separate action for perjury against the witnesses) cannot dispute the promise to pay: unless then he has some other defence, *e.g.* that he has already paid, the suit is at an end; it must be decided by the judge κατὰ μαιύρας. If he has paid, the payment to be valid must have taken place before witnesses. If the contract has not been made before witnesses and is denied, then the case cannot be settled so easily, and will have to be tried in some other way.



I will now deal with the passages in order to show that this interpretation is correct:—

## (I.)

- i. 38.—*αἱ δέ κα ναεύη ὁ δῶλος, ὃ κα νικαθῇ, καλίων ἀντὶ μαιτύρων  
δυῶν δρομέων ἐλευθέρων ἀποδεικσάτω ἐπὶ τῷ ναῷ ὅπῃ κα ναεύη,  
ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ ἄλλος πρὸ τούτω· αἱ δέ κα μὴ καλῇ ἢ μὴ δείκσῃ,  
κατιστάτω τὰ ἐγγραμένα.*

If the slave with regard to whom he has been defeated takes sanctuary, summoning him before two witnesses, runners, free-men, let him show him at the temple where he is in sanctuary, himself or another for him; but if he does not summon him or does not show him, let him pay what has been written.

If a man *A* has had in his possession a slave who is judged by the court to belong to *B*, an order for restitution is made; if this is not obeyed *A* incurs certain penalties. Suppose however that the slave has fled to a temple so that *A* cannot restore him. *A* must then go to *B* accompanied by two witnesses and point out where the slave is; if he does so, even though *B* never recovers the slave, *A* has to pay only the price of the slave without any penalty. If *B* sued for the penalties, the plea of *A* that he had gone to asylum supported by the evidence of the witnesses that notification had been given would be an absolute bar to all further proceedings. The judge must decide according to the witnesses, and the case would never proceed beyond the first stage.

## (II.)

- Fr. B. 5.—*αἱ δέ κα τιτνάκη ἢ μὴ νυνατὸν ἢ ἐπιιδίεθαι, καλὴν ἀντὶ  
μαιτύρων δυῶν ἐν ταῖς πέντε, αἱ δεικσεῖ, ὅπῃ κ' ἦ, κ' ὀρκιώτερον  
ἤμην αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν μαρτύραν, αἱ ἐπεδίετο ἢ ἐπήλευσε ἢ ἐκάλη  
δεικσίων.*

- Fr. A. 6.—*αἱ δέ κα μὴ ἐπιδίηται τὸ παρωθὲν ἢ μὴ ἐπελεύσῃ τὸ  
τετνακὸς ἢ μὴ δείκσῃ, αἱ ἔγρατται, μὴ ἔνδικον ἤμην.*

If it dies or he is not able to pursue it he shall summon him before two witnesses within five days to show where it is, he and the witnesses shall be on their oath,<sup>5</sup> as to whether he pursued it or brought it to him or summoned him to show it.

But if he does not pursue before, or does not bring the dead animal to him or does not show it to him as has been written, there shall be no case.

<sup>5</sup> ὀρκιώτερον: for the meaning of this cf. *infra*, p. 64.

*A* has lost cattle owing to the action of animals belonging to *B*; if he wants to recover in a court he must perform certain actions. He must first of all look for the strayed cattle: if the animal is dead he must take it to *B* and lay it before him claiming restitution; if he cannot find it he must go to *B* and ask where it is. All these acts must be performed before witnesses. Unless by witnesses he can prove that he has performed them, he has no case (*μη̄ ενδικον η̄μην*); and his suit falls to the ground at once. If he has done so then there will be a *prima facie* case against *B*, and judgment will be given for *A* unless *B* has some defence. If *B* pleaded *e.g.* that the animal which did the damage was not his, then the case would proceed to the next stage; otherwise it is decided at once *κατὰ μαιτύρανς*.

## (III.)

iii. 44.—*αἱ τέκοι γυνὰ κερύονσα, ἐπελεύσαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ στέγαν ἀντὶ μαιτύρων τριῶν. αἱ δὲ μὴ δέκσαιοτο, ἐπὶ τῇ ματρὶ ἔμεν τὸ τέκνον ἢ τράπεν ἢ ἀποθέμεν, ὀρκιωτέρως δ' ἔμεν τὼς καδεστάνς καὶ τὼς μαιτύρανς, αἱ ἐπήλευσαν. αἱ δὲ φοικέα τέκοι κερύονσα ἐπελεύσαι τῷ πάστῃ τῷ ἀνδρὸς ὃς ὥπνιε, ἀντὶ μαιτύρων δυῶν.*

iv. 6.—*κόρκιωτέρον δ' ἔμεν τὸν ἐπελεύσαντα καὶ τὼς μαιτύρανς. γυνὰ κερύονσ' αἱ ἀποβάλοι παιδίον πρὶν ἐπελεύσαι κατὰ τὰ ἐγραμμένα, ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν καταστασέι πεντήκοντα στατήρανς, δώλῳ πέντε καὶ ἑκατὶ, αἱ κα νικαθῇ.*

If a woman gives birth to a child when separated from her husband (by divorce or death), she shall cause the child to be brought to her husband to his house before three witnesses. If he does not receive it, the child shall belong to the mother, to rear it or to put it away, and the relatives and the witnesses shall be on their oath, whether they brought it to him. But if a slave-woman bears a child when separated from her husband, she shall cause it to be brought to the master of the man who is the father before two witnesses, . . . and he who brought it and the witnesses shall be on their oath. If a woman who is separated puts aside a child before causing it to be brought according as it is written, in the case of a free child she shall pay 50 staters, in the case of a slave 25, if she is defeated.

Here, again, the witnesses are witnesses to a formal action, called beforehand for the express purpose of being witnesses. If the father brings an action, or the master of the father, to get damages for the exposure of a child, and the defendants can prove by the required number of witnesses that the father had an opportunity of claiming it, then the *δικαστής* will at once give judgment *κατὰ τοὺς μάρτυρας*: there will be no case to have a regular trial about.



## (IV.)

ii. 28 etc.—The case is that of a man being caught in the act of adultery in the house of the father, brother, or husband of a woman. The master of the house may seize him, when he has done so—

προφειπάτω δὲ ἀντὶ μαιτύρων τριῶν τοῖς καδεσταῖς τῷ ἐναιλεθέντος  
ἀλλυέσθαι ἐν ταῖς πέντ' ἀμέραις, τῷ δὲ δώλῳ τῷ πάσται ἀντὶ  
μαιτύρων δυῶν. αἱ δὲ κα μὴ ἀλλύσῃται, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλοῦσι ἔμεν  
κρήσθαι ὅπαῖ κα λείωντι.

Let him give information before three witnesses to the relations of him who has been taken, that they may ransom him within five days, in the case of a slave, to his master before two witnesses. If he is not ransomed, he shall belong to the captors to do with him what they will.

Here just in the same way the law requires him to act according to certain formalities; the formalities must be performed before witnesses, if they are not then they are not valid. In this case the proper performance of the formalities helps to protect the captor against a charge of false imprisonment or violence. If he, after waiting five days, then killed the adulterer and was afterwards accused of murder, the evidence of the witnesses would protect him from the lawful revenge of the relatives.

So far we have had to do purely with preliminary acts necessary to legitimate the process. In some cases the witnesses have to be present to prove the proper performance of an act which has to be performed in execution of the order of the court after the trial.

## (V.)

xi. 46.—γυνὰ ἀνδρὸς ἃ κα κρίνηται, ὁ δικαστὰς ὄρκον αἱ κα δικάσῃ,  
ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὶ ἀμέραις ἀπομοσάτω παριόντος τῷ δικαστᾷ. ὅτι  
κ' ἐπικαλῇ, προφειπάτω τὸ ὑπάρκον τὰ δίκας τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τῷ  
δικαστᾷ καὶ τῷ μνάμονι προτέταρτον ἀντὶ μ[αιτύρων].

If a woman is separated from her husband, supposing the judge has given judgment that she shall take an oath, let her take the oath within twenty days in the presence of the judge. Whatever charge he brings against her, let him proclaim the matter of the suit to the woman and to the judge and to the mnemon four days before, before witnesses.

This refers to an oath of purgation (cf. *infra*, p. 65).

The accuser has here to bring witnesses when he formally reads the charge of which the woman has to clear herself, in order that the record of the oath may be clear and undoubted.

Besides processual acts, witnesses are also called to prove contracts or agreements; in this case also however they are not chance witnesses, they are men who have been present at the transactions to which they give evidence, having been summoned for the express purpose of giving evidence to it. Their evidence is necessary to its complete validity: *e.g.* when an inheritance is divided between the heirs, it is expressly enjoined that witnesses (*μαίτυρες*) should be present.

## (VI.)

v. 51.—*δατιομένοιδ δὲ κρήματα μαιτύρανς παρέμεν δρομέανς ἐλευθέ-  
ρων τρίνς ἢ πλίανς.*

When they divide the property witnesses shall be present, runners freemen, three or more.

The evidences of three witnesses in a court would be final and absolute proof that the division had been made, and would give a title for the possession of any property the ownership of which was disputed.

## (VII.)

We have also a case which deals with the process for recovery of a debt—

ix. 43.—*αἱ τίς κα πέραι συναλλάξαντι ἢ ἐς πέρας ἐπιθέντι μὴ ἀπο-  
διδῶ, αἱ μὲν κ' ἀποπώνιοντι μαιτύρες ἡβίοντες, τῷ ἑκατονστα-  
τήρῳ καὶ πλίονος τρεῖς, τῷ μείονος μέττ' ἐς τὸ δεκαστάτηρον  
δύο, τῷ μείονος ἕνα, δικαδδέτω πορτὶ τὰ ἀποπωνιόμενα· αἱ δὲ  
μαίτυρες μὴ ἀποπώνιοντι, ἢ κ' ἐ[πι]θῇ ὁ συναλλάκσανς, ὀτερὸν κα  
ἐληται ὁ μενπόμενος, ἢ ἀπομόσαι ἢ συν-*

If any one made a promise for a date, or did not pay back to some one who had made a loan up till a certain date, if witnesses declare of full age, in a matter of 100 staters or more, three; of less down to 20 staters, two; of less, one; let him give judgment according to the statement of the witnesses; but if witnesses did not declare, or if he who made the promise . . . . .<sup>6</sup>, let him either take an oath or . . ., whichever the plaintiff chose.

This is a very valuable case. If a man has made a promise to pay before witnesses and does not do so, the creditor has only to prove the promise by the witnesses, and judgment follows as a matter of course. There is really no trial, the judge only orders the execution of the agreement which has been made. If however the contract was not before witnesses, or if there is some further defence so that the evidence of the witnesses is not final, another way of making a decision is necessary.

<sup>6</sup> Reading and meaning are doubtful.



## (VIII.)

One of the most important passages is unfortunately very obscure.

ix. 24.—*αἱ ἀνδεκσάμενος ἢ νενικαμένο[ς ἢ . .] διόταν ὁπέλων ἢ διαβαλόμενος ἢ διαφειπάμενος ἀποθάνοι, ἢ τουτῷ ἄλλος, ἐπιμωλῇ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ. ὁ δὲ δικαστὰς δικαδδέτω πορτὶ τὰ ἀποπωνιόμενα· αἱ μὲν κα νίκας ἐπιμωλῇ, ὁ δικαστὰς κ' ὁ μνάμων αἱ κα δόη καὶ πολιατεύη· οἱ δὲ μαίτυρες οἱ ἐπιβάλλοντες, ἀνδοκάδ ἔκεν κοίστῃν. καὶ διαβολᾶς καὶ διρεσίος μαίτυρες οἱ ἐπιβάλλοντες ἀποπωνιόντων· ἢ δὲ κα ἀποφείπωντι δικαδδέτω ὁμόσαντα <sup>7</sup> αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν μαίτύραν νικῇν τὸ ἀπλόον.*

If any one who has become surety, or has been defeated in a suit, or is in debt (?), or claims to postpone payment, or has brought in a counter-plea, die; or if the creditor die; then the case must be brought afresh into court within a year. The judge shall give judgment according to the statements (of the witnesses). In the case of a suit already decided the judge (who has decided it) and the recorder shall give evidence, if he is alive and in the city; in the case of a surety or a debt the witnesses whose duty it is (or the relations as witnesses); also if the defendant has claimed a postponement or has made a counter-plea, the witnesses whose duty it is (or the relations as witnesses) shall give evidence; but if they refuse the evidence the judge shall give judgment that the claimant and his witnesses shall support their statement on oath, and that he shall get the sum claimed (but that no additional fine be imposed).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Fab. ὁμόσας τὰ αὐτὰν.

<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to discuss all the difficulties of this passage here: on some points however my translation requires justification. For *διόταν* (or whatever the word really is) no satisfactory explanation has been given. *διαβαλόμενος* and *διαφειπάμενος* must refer to some action on the part of the debtor who makes some counter-plea to show why he need not pay. After his death the object of the court is to put the claimant in the same position with respect to the heirs of the debtor as he was to the debtor himself; in order to achieve this object each party has to bring forward proof for each stage in the proceedings which has already been reached. The claimant has (a) in the case of a suit already decided to prove this by the officials of the court; (b) in the case of a surety, or other form of debt to bring formal evidence of the contract. If the debtor, while alive, has entered no defence, judgment will

then be given for the claimant: if the debtor has made a defence, then his heirs have to bring evidence that he has done so: this is expressed in the words *διαβολᾶς καὶ διρεσίος*. This is evidence not as to the validity of the defence, but as to the fact that there was a defence. If this evidence breaks down (this seems the only possible meaning of *ἀποφείπωντι*, cf. xi. 11) then judgment for the claimant follows as though the defences had not been set up. The law then adds two regulations: (a) that the claimant and his witnesses shall take an oath to the truth of their statement; (b) that notwithstanding the failure of an attempt to escape payment no fine shall be imposed, but only the simple debt paid.

The peculiarity of this interpretation is that I take *ἀποφείπωντι* to refer only to the witnesses for the *διαβολὰ* and *διρεσίς*. This seems the only possible deduction from the fact that judgment for the claimant follows the refusal of



At least part of this is clear: if a man dies in debt, the creditor has to bring the matter before the court afresh (*ἐπιμωλεί*). If he can bring witnesses who have been called officially at the time to witness the debt, then judgment will be given for him. One special case is, supposing the matter has already been tried in court, then the officials of the court, the judge and the 'recorder' (*μνάμων*) are the witnesses.

It is noticeable that the officials are chosen to be the witnesses of a judgment in court; in other communities we find that the people present in the court are solemnly called on to bear witness.

## (IX.)

x. 25.—*ἄνθρωπον μὴ ἀνῆθαι κατακείμενον, πρὶν κ' ἀλλύσσηται ὁ καταθέτης, μηδ' ἀμπίμολον, μηδὲ δέκασθαι μηδ' ἐπισπένσασθαι μηδὲ καταθέθαι· αἱ δὲ τις τούτων τι φέρκσαι, μηδὲν ἐς κρέος ἔμειν, αἱ ἀποπωνίοιεν δύο μαίτυρες.*

It shall not be lawful to have sold to one a man who is deposited in trust until he who has deposited him have redeemed him (or *v.l.* have arranged), nor one about whom there is a lawsuit, nor receive him (as a present), nor have him promised or receive him as a pledge; if he do any of these things, then it is invalid, if two witnesses make a declaration.

Here the declaration of the witnesses is clearly to the fact that the slave is in pledge, or that there is a lawsuit about him. The original owner has only to prove it by the witnesses present when the agreement was made, and the later transaction becomes null and void.

In all these cases *μαίτυρες* refers to witnesses of formalities. The form or act that they have to prove is sometimes proceedings in court, sometimes those parts of a process which are essential but take place out of court, sometimes contracts or agreements. In all cases the witnesses are official, they must have been summoned beforehand for the purpose of witnessing the act; it does not include the evidence of accidental spectators.

These passages are sufficient to show that this is the common meaning of the word; there remain two groups of passages where the meaning is at first less obvious. We may however use those which are certain to interpret the others.

the witnesses to give evidence. The point of the words *μὴ ἄλλω* is that it guards the heirs from the additional fine or double penalty which was generally imposed on those who sought to evade an obligation. Before the heirs are required to pay, the claimant must make formal proof in court of his claim. In xi. 31, &c., we have further regulations on the matter. The heirs may, if they like, instead of paying

the debt, resign the whole inheritance to the debtor.

If this is right we shall have for *ἀνδοκάδ* in v. 5 to read *ἀνδοκάδ*. Until a fresh examination of the stone is made it is however improbable that any satisfactory interpretation will be found.

\* Baunack, *ἀλλύσεται*; Bû, *ἀπτόν*: Fab. *καπτόν*.



## (X.)

- i. 1, etc.—ὅς κ' ἐλευθέρῳ ἢ δώλῳ μέλλῃ ἀνπιμωλῆν, πρὸ δίκας μὴ ἄγειν. αἱ δέ κ' ἄγῃ, καταδικασάτω τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ δέκα στατήρας, τῷ δώλῳ πέντε ὅτι ἄγει, καὶ δικασάτω λαγῶσαι ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ἀμέραις. αἱ [δέ] κα μὴ λαγῶσῃ, καταδικαδδέτω τῷ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ στατήρα, τῷ δώλῳ δαρχνὰν τᾶς ἀμέρας φεκάστας πρὶν κα λαγῶσῃ. τῷ δὲ κρόνῳ τὸν δικαστὰν ὁμνύντα κρίνεν. αἱ δ' ἀννίοιτο μὴ ἄγειν, τὸν δικαστὰν ὁμνύντα κρίνεν, αἱ μὴ ἀποπώνιοι μαίτους.

The question which the judge has to settle here is whether an illegal seizure of a slave has been made; one party asserts it, the other denies it. This being a question of fact which the law does not know, the judge has to decide on oath, *unless a witness makes a declaration*. The passage itself gives no clue to what the witness may be supposed to make a declaration about. It may be a witness for the defendant who came with him and proves that a legal and peaceful transference took place, and not a violent seizure. It may also be a witness that the slave had been adjudged to the defendant in a court, in which case he was allowed to seize him.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that he is a witness of the plaintiff who was present, and who was called on (*ἐπιμαρτύρομαι* in Attic law) to bear witness to the assault. At present we have however no other instance of this kind of *μαρτυρία* in this law. The fact that the judge must follow his evidence shows that he is formal evidence of the same kind as that in the other cases.

If however the agreement has not been made before witnesses, then it has to be proved in some other way. The witnesses are here too formal witnesses summoned beforehand\* for the express purpose of witnessing the agreement.

1. 14, etc.—αἱ δέ κα μωλῇ ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερον, ὁ δὲ δώλον, καρτόνας ἔμεν . . . <sup>11</sup> κ' ἐλεύθερον ἀποπώνιοντι. αἱ δέ κ' ἀνπὶ δώλῳ μωλίοντι πωνίοντες φόν φεκάτερος ἔμεν, αἱ μὲν κα μαίτους ἀποπωνῇ, κατὰ τὸν μαίτυρα δικαδδεν. αἱ δέ κ' ἢ ἀνπότεροις ἀποπώνιοντι ἢ μηδατέρῳ, τὸν δικαστὰν ὁμνύντα κρίνεν.

This, as Zittelmann points out, is a 'contravindicatio.' Each party maintains a positive plea: each says that the slave is his: he does not simply say 'the slave is not yours' but 'the slave is mine.' The *μαίτυρες* are witnesses to some formal action or agreement on which the possession is grounded, *e.g.* if the slave had gone to one of the parties on the division of his father's property the *μαίτυρες* who were present would give their evidence; unless the other party can produce a title at least as good, there is no cause to go on with the case.

<sup>10</sup> i. 55.—τὸν δὲ ἐνικαμένῳ καὶ τὸν κατακείμενον ἄγοιτι ἄπατον ἔμεν.

<sup>11</sup> C. and B. ὅτοι.



If however he brings witnesses to assert that they were present as formal witnesses when the slave was transferred to him legally by a sale or as a present, then as both sides have a title the judge must decide which is the best. This may be a very simple matter: it may be merely a question of date, but for such matters witnesses are not used, the judge has to decide on oath. This passage, interpreted by the others, shows certainly the nature of *μαίτυες* and the way in which they were used.

Only one passage remains; it is one which has been frequently misunderstood.

## (X1.)

- ii. 16.—*αἱ κα τὰν ἐλευθέραν ἐπιπέρηται οἰπὴν*<sup>12</sup> *ἀκεύοντος καδεστᾶ, δέκα στατήρας καταστήσει, αἱ ἀποπώνιοι μαίτυς.*

If he seduces a freewoman, who is in the charge of a relation, he shall pay ten staters, if a witness declares.

It is not quite clear whether the passage refers to seduction or to secret marriage. The peculiarity of the case is that the woman is in the keeping of a *καδεστής*, i.e. obviously not of a father, brother or mother. The punishment is a fine to be paid to the *καδεστής*. The *καδεστής* then in order to recover damages for the loss of chastity has to prove his right to sue. The witness is not a witness to prove the injury: no witness has been required in the preceding cases. We must suppose that the charge of the woman has been formally assigned to the relation before witnesses; otherwise he has none of the legal rights and privileges of guardianship. Cf. ix. 50.

I think then it may be considered proved that in this code the word *μαίτυες* refers to formal witnesses of processual or contractual acts: there is no single case where it refers certainly to evidence which is brought to settle disputed points of fact.

In other early systems of law this seems to be the common and regular meaning of the word. What we call evidence, the attempt to get at the truth of an event by the sworn statement of any one who may have any accidental knowledge bearing on the event, is of late growth. It was of course not unknown, but it was unregulated and not much confidence was attached to it. In the early German codes we can distinguish between 'testes' or *zeugen*, and 'probatio.' In the earliest codes the word *testis* is nearly always, if not universally, applied to formal witnesses to processual acts or contracts. It is also used of the evidence of neighbours or members of the community to matters of common notoriety, such as the ownership of land. The two uses are closely akin: the title to freedom or property depended on the record of the community to which all belonged, and all members of it, especially the oldest, were always liable to be summoned as *testes* or *zeugen* of this: it was so to speak one of their public duties. On

<sup>12</sup> Ο. ἐπιπέρηται φερικεύοντος.



the other hand, in cases of murder or robbery and generally speaking of facts, in the early codes *testes* are never summoned to prove: they are only used to prove the *mannitio* and other similar acts. According to the earliest German law, if a question of fact remained to be decided witnesses were not used: the regular procedure was by ordeal, trial by combat or the purgatory oath. On the other hand, just as at Gortyn, witnesses are frequently used to prove formal acts, such as a summons or a sale, and the codes are full of reference to these witnesses. It is only necessary to quote a few passages to illustrate this. For the summons to court which occupies such an important place in Roman and Attic law, cf. *Lex Sal.* l. 2. *et ille qui alium mannit cum testibus ad domum illius ambulare debet.*

*Ib.* lvii.—*Ibi duodecim testes erunt qui per singulas vices tres iurati dicant, quod ibidem fuerunt ubi rachineburgii iudicaverunt ut aut ad in eo ambularet aut fidem de conparibus faceret.*<sup>12</sup>

For the case of a slave who has to be produced to answer a charge cf.

*Lex Rib.* xxx. 11.—*Quod si . . . fuga lapsus fuerit, ad placitum veniens (dominus) cum tribus testibus in harario conjurat, quod servus illi, quem ad igneum representare debuerat, extra ejus voluntate fuga lapsus sit.*

The *testes* here prove not the flight of the slave, but the oath of the master. For witnesses to a sale cf.

*Lex Rib.* lix.—*Si quis alteri aliquid venderit et emptor testamentum vindicionis accipere voluerit, et in mallo hoc facere voluerit, precium in praesente tradat, et rem accipiat, et testamentum publici conscribatur. Quod si parva res fuerit, septem testibus firmetur, si autem magna duodecim roboretur.*

Et si quis in posterum hoc refragare vel falsere voluerit, a testibus convincatur.

Here there is a written document, but the procedure is obviously the same; the older procedure is shown in a passage that follows on this:

*Ib.* lx.—*Si quis villam aut vineam vel quamlibet possessiunculam ab alio comparaverit, et testamentum accipere non potuerit, si mediocres res est, cum 6 testibus, et si parva, cum tres, quod si magna, cum 12 ad locum tradicionis cum totidem numero pueros accedat, et sic eis praesentibus*

<sup>12</sup> In the oldest of the codes, the *Lex Salica*, this distinction is preserved almost without exception. An apparent exception, ii. 13, is not a real one, for though *testes* are referred to in connection with the probatio, the point that they prove is 'quod votivus fuit,' i.e. a solemn act of consecration. Similar is xxxiii. 2: 'Si quis cervum domesticum signum habentem furaverit aut occiderit, qui ad venationem mansuetus est et hoc per testibus fuerit adprobatum

quod cum dominus suus in venationem habuisset.' The *testes* prove not the act of theft but the condition of the stag.

xxxvi.—'Si quis homo ex quolibet quadrupedem domesticum occisus fuerit et hoc per testibus fuerit adprobatum,' is a real exception. As is also ix. 8, 'si convinctus cum fuerit ad testibus.' At least one of the MSS. however adds in the first case the words 'quod non soluerit.'



pretium tradat et possessiones accipiat, et unicuique de parvolis alapes donet et torquet auriculas, ut ei in postmodum testimonium praebeant.

With the local variations we have here formal witnesses called to prove the title. Just however as in (VII.) ix. 51 if witnesses could not be got the matter was decided by oath, so the clause continues—

Si autem testes non potuerit admanire, ut ei testimonium praebeant, tum rem suam cum 3 sibi<sup>14</sup> cum 7 cum sacramentis interpositione sibi studeat evindicare.

If he cannot get witnesses to prove the original transfer he does not prove possession by witnesses but by oath with the oath of others. This oath of the 'eideshelfer' is of course in some ways evidence: but it is never spoken of as 'testes' 'zeugen' and is quite different in its origin.

In one of the Capitularies of Chlodovicus is a long paragraph giving regulations for discovering a murderer; in the Lex Salica, xliii., regulations for discovering who is guilty when a man was killed in 'contubernio': in neither case is there any mention of 'testes.' The procedure is to find out the people against whom there is *prima facie* ground for suspicion and then make them clear themselves by an oath. Testes are not used to prove facts unless they have before the fact been deliberately summoned by one of the parties to witness his action. The best account of it is given by Brunner, who says: "The proof by witness (Zeugenbeweis) had in the old German law a much smaller application than in modern law. Accidental knowledge did not suffice to form the legal character of a witness. Had any one the most minute knowledge of the matter in dispute he could not appear as witness if he had not been *at the time led by the parties to the action in question in order to give evidence if necessary*.<sup>15</sup> Besides these witnesses in the strict sense, who *i.e.* are 'led' (gezogen) formally to confirm legal acts, and so may be called 'geschäftszeugen,' there were known only the 'gemeindezeugen' who gave testimony to conditions and actions which were notorious in the place or community, in their character as neighbours or members of the same country. The proof of judicial acts, which in later times meets us as a special form of evidence legally distinguished, was in the oldest period given, not as 'Dingzeugniss' by the judge and the *Schoffen*,<sup>16</sup> but simply by the party with the help of the ordinary proof."<sup>17</sup>

In the Anglo-Saxon laws the word witness is without exception used in a similar sense: it means those who were present at a contract or sale, in order to be witnesses of it, *e.g.* 'Let no man exchange any property without the witness of the reeve, or of the mass-priest, or of the land-lord, or of the "herdere" or of other un-lying men.'<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Sc. 'give' (as in Codex B).

<sup>15</sup> This passage is quoted from Beaumanoir, xxxix. 57: 'Nus tesmoins combien qu'il seust de le coze ne soloit rien valoir, s'il n'estoit appelés des parties à le coze fere proprement per porter testimonage de le coze qui fen fête de se mestiers estoit.'

<sup>16</sup> Contrast this with ix. 32.

<sup>17</sup> Brunner, *Entstehung der Schwurgerichte*. Cf. also Ib. *Geschichte des Deutschen Rechts*, ii. 392, &c.

<sup>18</sup> Aeth. i. 10.



'And let every man, with their witnesses, buy and sell every of the chattels that he may buy or sell, either in a "burh" or in a wapentake; and let every of them, when he is first chosen as witness, give the oath that he never, neither for love, nor for fear, will deny any of those things of which he was witness, nor declare any other thing in witness, save that alone which he saw or heard: and of such sworn men, let there be at every bargain two or three as witnesses. And he who rides in quest of any cattle, let him declare to his neighbours about what he rides, and when he come home, let him also declare with whose witness he bought the cattle.'<sup>19</sup>

'And let no one buy anything above the value of four pence, either living or lying, unless he have the true witness of four men, be it within a burh, be it in the country. For if it then be attached and he have no sure witness, let there be no vouching to warranty, but let his own be rendered to the proprietor.'<sup>20</sup>

It is a peculiarity of the old English law that the witnesses are an official body of men appointed once for all from whom all witnesses for each suit are to be taken. They have to prove not only legal actions to which they are witness, but generally ownership or title to property; they are the records of all transfer of property, their declaration is legal proof. In no case however do witnesses prove actions, such as robbery or murder; it is not till the Norman law has supplanted the English that the word witness is used in this sense.

In Icelandic law a similar distinction is made. Witnesses (*vatterd*) are used and required in all ceremonial actions. On the other hand the truth of doubtful points of fact is determined by a sworn committee of enquiry (*qujpr*) who occupy a position something between that of a jury and of witnesses. The word *vatterd* is restricted in its use just as is *μαῖτρος*, *zeugen*, *gewitness* or *testis*.

In Roman law there is abundant evidence that this was the original meaning of the word 'testis' and its derivatives. It is only necessary to refer to the words of the XII. Tables:<sup>21</sup> 'Si in jus vocat, ito. Ni it, antestamino igitur eum capito.' The word *testimonium* and all the proceedings connected with the making of a will are simply an instance of the regular procedure with 'testes.' The *Litis Contestatio* is the calling on those present in court to bear witness to the proceedings.

At Athens it is interesting to notice that the law of evidence never really progressed. As is well known in a *δικαστήριον* there was no examination of witnesses, all that could be done was to read out the *μαρτυρίαι* that had been heard in the *ἀνάκρισις*. Of course these *μάρτυρες* were in later times called with a view to the later proceedings before the *δικασταί* and were no longer confined to witnesses to formal acts, but the old rule was maintained that *μαρτυρίαι* belonged to the preliminary and formal proceedings. This is also shown by the rule which excluded slaves and women from giving

<sup>19</sup> Edgar, *Supp.* 6.

<sup>20</sup> Cout. 24.

<sup>21</sup> Bruns. i. 1.



evidence. At Rome this custom was broken through at an early period; witnesses were freely heard and examined by the *judex*.

It appears then that in all our earliest authorities we have no record of witnesses used as now of casual spectators who are required to give evidence which may throw light on the matter in dispute. On the other hand the old laws are full of regulations with regard to these formal witnesses. The distinction of the two kinds is that while according to modern notions the statement of a witness is something to be weighed, of which the credibility and importance has to be estimated, the statement of the formal witness is for the time absolute proof of the fact to which he has been witness. The procedure belongs of course chiefly to the period before the introduction of writing. It was soon superseded by written records and written contracts. When this was done the words for witness got a more extended use. It is therefore only in the oldest authorities, the English codes, the *Lex Salica*,<sup>22</sup> the Scandinavian authorities and the Gortynian code that we can expect to find the word used with its one meaning alone; in them as a matter of fact and in them alone the words are used only in this technical sense.

The fact then that when the *δικαστὰς δικάζει* he has to do so *κατὰ ματιύρας*, is not a reason for supposing that the real trial took place at this stage; *μαρτυρία* in its technical sense was as in other laws confined to the purely formal procedure, which is to be distinguished from the real settlement of a disputed point by bringing the minds of one or more men to weigh opposing evidence or pleas. The production of the *μαρτυρίαι* was like the production of signed contracts or official records of a transaction in a modern court. The proof of a payment by *μάρτυρες* was like proof by producing a receipt to a bill.

## 2. Oaths.

The second characteristic in the preliminary procedure is that it may be *ἀπόμοτον*. In order to understand this it is necessary to draw attention to a distinction of great importance in the wording of the code, which has been ignored by Zittelmann. In the code we must distinguish between two kinds of oaths. There is the oath by which the formal assertions of witnesses or of either of the parties to a suit are supported. We do not know whether witnesses and pleaders were always obliged to take an oath, probably the opponent could always require them to do so; this oath is referred to in the expression *ὀρκιώτερος*. Quite distinct from this is the oath by which after the charge or plea has been formally established the accused clears himself; this is the purgatory oath so common in German law, and is closely akin to the *ὄρκος* in the *πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον* of Attic law.<sup>23</sup> This is always referred to as *ἀπομόσαι*. When the pleas on both sides had been made, the usual course was for the judge to take an oath and

<sup>22</sup> For the *Lex Salica* see however Brunner, *op. cit.* ii. 394-5. This volume did not appear till after the above was written.

<sup>23</sup> On the *πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον* see an article in the *Classical Review*, Feb. 1893.



then decide the point of dispute which remained. In some cases however the law says that this shall be decided not by argument before a sworn judge but by the solemn oath of the accused. This is clearly quite distinct from the oath by which the witnesses confirm their statement; as the distinction however has not been noticed I must justify it by referring to the various passages.

The meaning of *ὀρκιώτερος* is determined by the fact that, in three of the four places where it occurs, it is used of *μαίτυρες*: it is used to confirm their statement and that of the party.

These passages are:—

Fr. B 3 etc.—*ἵππον εἴ κ' ἡμ]ίονον κ' ὄνον τὸ μὲν νυνατὸν ἐπιδιέθθαι, ἢ ἔγρατται· αἱ δὲ κα τετνάκη ἢ μὴ νυνατὸν ἢ ἐπιδιέθθαι, καλῆν ἀντὶ μαιτύρων δυνῶν ἐν ταῖς πέντε, αἱ δεικσεῖ, ὅπῃ κ' ἢ, κ' ὀρκιώτερον ἤμην αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν μαιτύραν αἱ ἐπέδιετο ἢ ἐπήλευσε ἢ ἐκάλη δεικσίων.*

If it dies or he is not able to pursue it, he shall call him before two witnesses within five days whether he will show it where it is, and he himself shall be on his oath and the witnesses, whether he pursued it or called him to show it.

And in the passage quoted above (III.):—

iii. 44.—*αἱ τέκοι γυναῖ κερέυονσα ἐπελεύσαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ στέγαν ἀντὶ μαιτύρων τριῶν — ὀρκιώτέρως δ' ἔμεν τὼς καδεστὰς καὶ τὼς μαιτύραν, αἱ ἐπήλευσαν.*

In the case of a slave it is *κόρκιώτερον* ἔμεν τὸν ἐπελεύσαιτα καὶ τὼς μαιτύραν.

It is quite clear that in both cases the oath here referred to is one which accompanies and confirms the plea and the witnesses who support it. Whether or not they were always put to the oath we cannot say; or, if the rule varied, what it was that fixed it for each case. It is not the oath of purgation which belongs to a subsequent stage; we may suppose that if one party stated his case with the evidence of the procedure witnesses, his opponent could require that he should be compelled to make the statements on oaths; if he did so they were proved, if not they fell to the ground. The oath however did not as a rule complete the case, it only confirmed the grounds on which it was begun; it took place at the same time as the *ματυρία* and was part of it.

The other case is more difficult. The law is giving the fines to be paid in cases of rape: the last clauses of the chapter refer to rape on a slave-girl by her own master.

ii. 11.—*ἐνθοδιδὶαν δώλαν αἱ κάρτει δαμάσαιτο, δύο στατήραν καταστασεῖ, αἱ δὲ κα δεδομναμένην πεδ' ἁμέραν, ὀβελόν, αἱ δὲ κ' ἐν νυκτὶ δ' ὀβελόν, ὀρκιώτέραν δ' ἔμεν τὰν δώλαν.*



If he forcibly violates a slave-girl who belongs to the house, he shall pay two staters, if [he violates] by day one who has been (already) overpowered, one obol, but if it be at night, two obols, *and the slave-girl shall be on her oath.*

In order to determine the meaning of this we must see in what this case differs from the others just preceding where there is no such provision. The preceding clauses relate to violence offered to a free man or woman, a woman who is in the charge of one who is not a citizen, or a slave (*φοικέας—φοικέαν*), presumably one belonging to some one else; the *ἐνθοδιδία δώλα* differs from the other cases in that she is completely in the power of her master. In all the other cases the suit would be brought by the guardian or husband of the freewoman, or by the master of the slave. This is shown clearly by a comparison of iii. 45, etc., where the *πάστας* in the case of a slave takes the place of the *καδεσταί*. The slave-girl then who is violated by her own master has naturally no one who can bring a suit or through whom she can obtain redress. To remedy this the law especially directs that she should be permitted to lay a charge against him *herself*, and support it by an oath. The accused would of course be allowed to clear himself by oath or in some other way. It is sufficiently extraordinary that at this early period a slave should be allowed to bring an action against her own master and apparently exact damages; the statement however is so clear that we must accept it. It is impossible to agree with Zittelmann in his explanation that the oath of the woman in this case, like an oath of purgation, decided the matter, and was followed by the condemnation: this affords no explanation of the fact that it applies only to the *ἐνθοδιδία δώλα*, and is unconnected with the other uses of the word *ὀρκιώτερος*. As we shall see in all the undoubted cases where an oath absolutely ends the proceedings and is followed by judgment, the oath is taken by the accused, and the word *ἀπομόσαι* is used.

The following instances are undoubted cases of the purgatory oath; in not one of them is the word *ὀρκιώτερος* used.

iii. 6.—The matter in question is that an accusation is brought against a woman who is separated from her husband, of having taken away some property that belongs to him. If she acknowledges the charge, she is to pay a fine of five staters: it then continues.

*ὅν δέ κ' ἐκσανησῆται, δικάσαι τὰν γυναῖκ' ἀπομόσαι τὰν Ἄρτεμιν παρ' Ἀμύκλαιον παρ' τὰν τοκσίαν. ὅτι δέ τίς κ' ἀπομοσάνσῃ παρέλῃ, πέντε στατήρας καταστασεί καὶ τὸ κρέος αὐτῶν.*

With regard to that which she denies, he shall pass judgment that the women deny it on oath by Artemis near the Amyclaeon near the Bow-woman. And whatever he takes away from her after she has denied it on oath he shall pay five staters and the value.



Here we should have expected to find : whatever she denies, on that he shall decide on oath (*ὁμνύντα κρίνειν*). The procedure in which the accused takes the oath is the substitute for the procedure by trial before a sworn judge. Judgment was given in this form : she shall deny it on oath, or pay. A later passage quoted above (V. xi. 46) gives further details with regard to the oath. It must be taken within twenty days, in the presence of the judge, and witnesses are to be present to read exactly the details of the charge of which she is to clear herself.

ii. 36.—The next passage is equally clear. The case is : a man has caught an adulterer ; according to the regular procedure he has warned the relatives. They, or the man-himself, bring an action against the aggrieved husband accusing him of unlawful imprisonment (*δωλώσασθαι*). Again, instead of ordering that the judge shall take an oath and decide the matter, the law orders that the husband (who is now become the accused) shall clear himself by oath.

*αἱ δὲ κα πωνῇ δωλώσασθαι, ὁμόσαι τὸν ἐλόντα τῷ πεντηκονταστατήρῳ καὶ πλίονος πέντον αὐτόν, ἢν αὐτῷ φέκαστον ἐπαριόμενον, τῷ δ' ἀφεταιρῷ τριτὸν αὐτόν, τῷ δὲ φοικέος τὸν πάσταν ἄτερον αὐτόν μοιχίοντ' ἔλεν, δωλώσασθαι δὲ μή.*

But if he contends that he has enslaved him, let him swear who seized him, in the case of fifty staters and more with four others, each one calling curses on himself ; in the case of one who is not a full citizen, with two others ; in the case of a slave, the master with one other, that he took him in adultery and did not seize him as a slave.

The peculiar interest of this passage<sup>24</sup> is that it is the only mention in Greek law of the 'eideshelfer' so common in German law. As a single instance which gives also the different number of oaths required for a free-man or a slave, we may quote *Lex Rup. xvii.* : *Si quis hominem per noctem latenter incenderit, 600 solidos culpabilis judicetur, et insuper damno et dilatura restituat. Aut si negaverit, cum 72 jurit.*

*Si servus hoc fecerit, 36 solidos culpabilis judicetur, et insuper damno et dilatura restituat. Aut si negaverit, dominus ejus cum 6 jurit.*

ix. 54.—In this passage which was quoted above (VII.) we find that if a man tries to recover a debt and has no witnesses to prove it, then the defendant is allowed to clear himself by an oath.

These are all the passages in the law where the word *ἀπομόσαι* is used ; it is clear that in xi. 28 *ἀπάμοτον* must refer to this procedure and not to the oaths which are referred to under the word *ὀρκιώτερος*. In all these cases the procedure by oath is a substitute for trial before a sworn judge.

<sup>24</sup> Compar. *ad loc.*



If the period of *μαρτυρία* is passed, if both pleas are established and there remains a point of fact to settle, then instead of deciding it on his oath the law in some cases orders the judge to pass judgment at once, the judgment taking the form that the defendant shall clear himself of the charge by oath, or pay the penalty required by the law.

Here, as in deciding *κατὰ μαιτόρας*, the magistrate is only carrying out the letter of the law; there is no occasion for him to use his own discretion. Hence he does not have to take an oath. The procedure by oath belongs to the department of the unsworn judge, just as at Athens the *πρόκλησις* takes place before the *ἄρχων* not the *δικαστήριον*, and in Rome an oath, if taken, is before the praetor not the iudex.<sup>25</sup>

The characteristic of the procedure in this stage is then that it is confined to that part of the trial in which there is no subject for decision to which the letter of the law cannot be applied mechanically. There is excluded from it all decisions on matters of right which the law does not decide, or the amount of a penalty which the law does not ordain, or a question of fact which is not decided by formal witnesses or by a purgatory oath of the defendant. These must be decided by the judge on his oath.

The law gives us little information as to procedure before the judge when on his oath, just for the reason that this action of the judge began where the operation of the law ceased.

As the law did not settle that point, he decided it absolutely according to his own opinions, with the single safeguard that he swore to do so honestly. This of course is just as was the case with the Athenian *δικασταί*. There is one expression in the law which though perhaps accidental is useful. In one passage instead of the formula *ὁμνόντα κρίνειν*, it is said that the judge shall swear (*ὁμόσαι*). The question is one of theft: the thief 'shall pay ten staters, and the thing double, whatever the judge swear that he has taken it' (*ὅτι κ' ὁ δικαστὰς ὁμόσει συνεσάκσαι*). (iii. 15.) Now we find that in English manorial law, if there was a dispute to be decided, it was decided by a court of twelve men on their oath; the decision or verdict is expressed in the form: the court say on their oath that so and so is the case; the answer to the plea is the sworn statement of the court, whether it be on a question of law or one of fact. What this court says, that is law or is fact; so we may conclude that at Gortyn if the matter came before a sworn judge, he was no longer bound by witnesses, but on his own knowledge prior to the case, or on any other source of information he could get by inquiry of any kind, he gives his decisions on the pleas (*πρὸς τὰ μωλιόμενα*). The judgment is absolute, no reasons are given.

I do not think then that there can be any doubt that the distinction of procedure from which we started is strictly analogous to that *in jure* and *in judicio*. If this is granted we have a most interesting illustration of the development of this distinction. It is I believe the only example that we

<sup>25</sup> Dig. xxxix. 3.



have of the maintenance of the distinction of procedure with unity of person. Here alone the actual trial is before the magistrate, who also receives and arranges the pleas and give orders for the execution of the law. At Rome and Athens in historical times the trial was not before the magistrate; we are however told that in both states the magistrates had originally tried the whole case. As Aristotle says,<sup>26</sup> κύριοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ τὰς δίκας αὐτοτελεῖς κρίνειν καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν προανακρίνειν (οἱ ἄρχοντες). At Sparta civil<sup>27</sup> cases were always tried by the Ephors alone. The discovery of this Cretan code justifies us in asserting that in early times this was the general if not the universal rule among the Latin and Hellenic races, at least for civil cases.

A careful analysis of the cases however shows also that the distinction of procedure in this form in civil cases was comparatively modern, and was subsequent to the introduction of written laws. The law expressly requires the judge to decide without oath only in those cases where the written law is there to guide him. If, *e.g.*, in an assault the fact is ever so clear, the judge cannot pass judgment without oath unless the law says what the penalty is to be; if there is no written law the punishment or fine must be assessed by some one speaking authoritatively instead of the law. If the law regulating succession to property was not written, in order to give a judgment some one must have solemnly stated what the law was. In Germany, as we know, this was provided for. In every tribe there were stated 'Urtheil-finder' who under different names and in different ways gave judgment on each case. When the laws were written a special clause was sometimes added that the law-giver should speak in accordance with the new code. Generally, if not always, the judgment had to receive the assent of the whole people; almost always the judgment-giver was different from the magistrate who presided and before whom the case was brought, and who executed the judgment.

So far as our information goes, in Greece this duty of 'giving-dooms' was performed by the magistrate, the king was in this point the mouthpiece of the people; so it is in Homer and so we are told it was in Attica. When by the side of the king and archon thesmothets were introduced it seems as if they not only had to lay down the law, *i.e.* state the *θεσμοί*, but also as magistrates heard the suit from the beginning and executed the law. The magistrate who tried the case was himself the recorder of the law and customs of the city. There was no authoritative order which he was obliged to obey. There could not then be a distinction of procedure between that part of the trial where he acted as the administrator of a law delivered by others, and that in which he decided doubtful questions of fact or equity. The distinction of procedure then at Athens dates from the time of Draco; it was from his time specially enjoined that henceforth the magistrates should judge according to the laws: if they did not an appeal was allowed to the Council. Now the laws could not decide the whole of a case: they could not

<sup>26</sup> Ar. 'Aθ. Πολ., iii.

<sup>27</sup> Ar. Πολ., ii.



always say whether a fact had happened or not, nor did they, we may be sure, provide a penalty for every crime or foresee every disputed question of ownership. Points of equity then on which the laws did not provide a purely formal means of deciding, and points of fact which were not decided by the formal method of oath or ordeal, would as before be decided by the magistrates at their discretion speaking as 'Urtheil-finder'; in points where the law guided they would act as executive magistrates, carrying out the laws and strictly bound under penalty to obey them. From the time of Draco to the time of Solon Attic civil procedure must have been in the same stage as that which we find at Crete. The introduction of a large court of jurymen Solon borrowed from the criminal procedure and by so doing took away from the magistrates the last power of acting as judges that remained to them.

The whole procedure in criminal matters was quite different; in them undoubtedly from the earliest times the judgment was given by the people or their representatives, the Council. Criminal matters are those in which an injury is done to the whole community. Murder especially was treated in this way; not only because the community was injured by the lawlessness, but because bloodshed involves religious impurity. I do not propose to enter into a discussion of criminal procedure here, it will be sufficient to point out that we have sufficient evidence that at Gortyn as elsewhere cases of this kind were decided in a popular court. When an adoption took place, it had to be proclaimed in the market-place before the whole body of citizens. It was a public act concerning all. Now if to be valid it had to take place in this manner it must at one time have required the express assent of the citizens, an assent which could have been refused. But if the assent was required to an act of this kind, it must have belonged to the same assembly of the people to determine whether any action was an injury to them, *i.e.* whether it was a crime, and if so what penalty was to be exacted. Here then the people themselves were the judgment-givers, not the magistrate. In the murder trial in Homer it is the *γέροντες* who give judgment: when the *ἐναγέις* at Athens were tried, they were brought before a court of 300. In Draco's laws we have the earliest direct and clear reference to the distinction between the two parts of the procedure:<sup>23</sup> *δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αἰτιῶν φόνου ἢ [εἰάν τις αἰτιάται τὸν βου]λεύσαντα τοὺς δὲ ἐφέτας διαγνῶναι.*

J. W. HEADLAM.

<sup>23</sup> *C.I.A.* i. 61.



## CACUS ON A BLACK-FIGURED VASE.

THE Ashmolean Museum has recently acquired an interesting small amphora (height m. .29) which Mr. Arthur Evans was fortunate enough to discover when excavating in the cemetery of Terranova<sup>1</sup> (Gela) in Sicily. It is of somewhat late date, perhaps about B.C. 500, but certainly much earlier than the destruction of Gela by the Carthaginians in B.C. 405. Mr. Evans has kindly handed over the publication to me.

There is a feature worthy of mention in the technique of the vase. No red is used, but white appears, especially on the side on which Herakles is represented, being used for the basis on which the foot of Herakles rests, and part of his lyre: also there are white spots on the wreath of the Satyr of the other side.

A coloured plate of this vase will be published in my forthcoming *Catalogue of Vases in the Ashmolean Museum* (Pl. I. A). Meantime I here print a rough engraving of the designs of it; since it seems to deserve a more lengthy discussion than is allowed by the plan of the *Catalogue*.

I consider that on the two sides of the amphora we have representations of two scenes in the adventure of Herakles<sup>2</sup> and Cacus, not however treated in the serious vein of mythological representation, but in the lighter vein of comedy. This adventure of Herakles is so familiar to scholars from its treatment by Livy and Virgil, Ovid and Propertius, that it is needful only to briefly sketch it. It is discussed in utmost detail in Roscher's *Lexicon*, pp. 2270—2290 (Peter). Herakles when returning from Spain with the oxen of Geryones fell asleep on the spot which afterwards became the site of Rome, and let the oxen graze. The spot was haunted by Cacus, a giant dwelling in a cave near by. He stole some of the cattle, and that their hoof-marks might not betray the theft dragged them backwards by the tail into his cave. Awakening, Herakles missed the oxen, but could not ascertain their hiding-place until they themselves betrayed it by lowing. Herakles forced his way into the cave, according to one version, by tearing down a tree which stood over it and so making his way down to it. Cacus was slain by his club, and the cattle liberated. Such is the general story, told with great variety of detail by various writers. Furtwängler (Roscher, p. 2251)

<sup>1</sup> The grave was vaulted, of oval form, made of cement, not terra-cotta, and contained a skeleton interment. It had been partially disturbed, and only fragments were found of another small amphora, in size, shape and style

the fellow to the above.

<sup>2</sup> I use the form Herakles rather than Hercules advisedly, because we have to do with a Greek or Græcized myth.

observes that this story, so important in Roman history and poetry, is illustrated by only one ancient monument, a medallion of Antoninus Pius<sup>3</sup> in which we see Cacus lying dead before his cave, and Herakles receiving the homage of the inhabitants of the district : but a few gems and one vase are regarded by Peter (Roscher, p. 2288) as belonging also to this legend.



On one side of our vase we see Cacus<sup>4</sup> dragging the oxen by their tails into a sort of shed, on the top of which reclines a Satyr, who with his flutes tries to drown the sound of their lowing. On the other side stands Herakles, his foot on a basis, which one is almost tempted to regard as the roofless walls of the shed which he has demolished, while he sings to the lyre a hymn of victory.

In place of the cave of Cacus we find in our representation an ordinary cattle-shed. Perhaps this may show some variety in the legend : but the presence of the satyr suggests another explanation. We may have elements taken direct from the stage, from some play in which the adventure of Herakles and Cacus was represented in the form of a parody.

<sup>3</sup> Fröhner, *Médailles*, p. 56 : Roscher, p. 2289.

<sup>4</sup> Cacus is girt with a sword, and wears high boots. The latter are not winged : Roscher (p.

2400) shows that such boots are worn not only by Hermes, but by Apollo and Peleus ; the supposed wings are only a flap.



Dümmler has already observed<sup>5</sup> that some features in a variety of early red-figured vases have an air of parody. He instances the noteworthy vase of Hieron<sup>6</sup> in which Odysseus and Diomedes each carry a figure of Pallas, and another vase of Epictetus<sup>7</sup> in which the adventure of Herakles with Busiris is treated in a comic vein. He is disposed to see in each case the influence of the Sicilian comedy, of which Epicharmus is the chief representative. Epicharmus and his contemporary Phormis introduced into Syracuse in the palmy days of Gelon and Hieron<sup>8</sup> a new kind of play, which consisted of a parody or farcical representation of some god or hero, *The Wedding of Hebe*, *The Shipwrecked Odysseus*, and the like. Herakles depicted as a glutton and profligate was a favourite figure in his plays; and



the Satyr also probably appeared in them frequently: in fact a somewhat close resemblance of them to the satyric dramas of Athens is strongly suspected.

The weak point of Dümmler's argument arises from the purely Attic character of the severe r.f. vases in question. And clearly the name Hieron among the Athenian potters may be a mere coincidence, and not indicate in

<sup>5</sup> *Bonner Studien*, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Klein, *Meisternig.*, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> A date for Epicharmus is given by the

statement of Hesychius that his literary career at Syracuse began six years before the Persian Wars. See Freeman's *Sicily*, ii. 283, 544.



his case Sicilian origin. Our vase however comes from Sicily, and is very probably of Sicilian manufacture; the notion therefore of the influence of Epicharmus in its case is more specious and attractive. Another vase in the Ashmolean Museum, a b.f. lekythus,<sup>9</sup> also from Gela, represents the Cercopes slung over the shoulder of Herakles much as in the Selinuntine metope; but a male and a female figure are present, and give the group something of the air of a scene from a play. In this case also we might trace the influence of Epicharmus. In any case the vases would be about contemporary with him.

The title of one play of Epicharmus, *The Shipwrecked Odysseus*, 'Ὀδυσσεὺς ναυαγός, carries our minds at once to a third Ashmolean vase, bought at the sale of the Branteghem Collection, and figured in the Ashmolean catalogue (Pl. 26). On one side of this wonderful black-figured cup we see Odysseus, evidently a figure of the comic stage, with padding and phallus, sailing the sea on two amphorae joined neck to neck, while Boreas, whose head only appears, blows at him from the right: on the other side an equally grotesque Odysseus meets Circe with her cup. This vase is said to have come from Thebes, and it bears a close resemblance to the vases from the Cabeiric temple of that city.<sup>10</sup> We can therefore scarcely venture to connect it with Sicily and Epicharmus. The well-known vases published in the quarto plates of this *Journal* (Pl. XIV.) which represent a chorus of men evidently intended to represent cocks or other birds more probably reproduce scenes from early mummeries of Greece proper than of Sicily. Our Sicilian black-figured vases remain by far the most probable record of the comedies of Epicharmus; and in their case it would be unnecessary scepticism to deny at least a probable connexion between the two.

To return to the legend of Cacus. The scene of this adventure was localized at Rome; the story was worked in as an important element in Roman early legendary history, and with it was associated the worship of Hercules in the Forum Boarium, and other important Roman cults: so that to the poets and historians of Rome the myth was one of great interest: and it is largely dealt with in Roman literature. The myth has usually been regarded as purely Italian: but I think that the present vase is likely to set it in a somewhat new light.

It seems to me that the whole story of Hercules and Cacus is but another version of the adventure of the hero with Geryon. The ordinary Roman account makes the cattle concerned in the business those of Geryon. According to Propertius Cacus had like Geryon three heads.<sup>11</sup> According to one early Roman version the conqueror of Cacus was called not Hercules but Garanus.

And one of the earliest and most interesting representations which have been referred to the adventure of Herakles and Geryon is really in all likeli-

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogue*, No. 249.

<sup>10</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* 1888, pl. 9-12 etc. The reverse is figured on p. 81 below.

<sup>11</sup> Propertius, v. 9, 10. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 287, τρικέφαλον Γηρυονῆα. Of course in art Geryon has three bodies as well as three heads.



hood a representation rather of his adventure with Cacus. I speak of the interesting pedestal of a statue of Herakles found in Cyprus by Cesnola,<sup>12</sup> and adorned with a curious relief. The ground in the relief has three levels. On the uppermost is a three-headed dog, pierced by an arrow. On the midmost is Herakles advancing in a threatening manner with club upraised. On the lowest level is a herd of cattle, behind which, protecting them from the advancing Herakles, is the rude figure of a herdsman who holds under his arm a palm or willow tree. The scene was regarded by Cesnola as the seizure of the herds of Geryon by Herakles in spite of the



opposition of the herdsman Eurytion and his dog, and later writers have accepted this interpretation. But to this view there are strong objections. In the first place, it seems strange that in the Geryonic adventure Geryon himself should be wanting. And in the second place, those who consider the representation will see that the herdsman does not use his tree as a weapon, but as a concealment for the oxen, who are clearly in a cave, while Herakles is outside the cave, and the dog on the hill out of which the cave is hollowed.

Thus the facts of the representation suit far better the story of Cacus than the story of Geryon, and it is suggested to us that the Cacus myth

<sup>12</sup> *Cyprus*, p. 128; cf. Roscher, p. 1635; Perrot, *Phénicie et Cypro*, p. 574. The cut in the text is from a block kindly supplied by Mr. John Murray.



must have been in its original form Phoenician or Graeco-Phoenician; although the name Cacus may have nothing to do with Phoenicia, and although it is likely that if the artist who made the sculpture had been asked the name of the herdsman, he would have answered 'Geryon.' The three heads of Geryon are in this curious relief transferred to the dog Orthrus, who usually has but two.

I do not propose to attempt to disentangle the threads of legend which have become thus knotted together. Only it seems that the fact that the story of Geryon was at home in Sicily is of importance in the present connexion. According to the tale Herakles carried over to Sicily the oxen of Geryon and there wrestled with Eryx. There was at Agyrium in Sicily a temple of Geryon founded by Herakles: and his myth was treated by the local poet, Stesichorus of Himera. To find the adventure of Herakles and Cacus depicted on a vase perhaps Sicilian is at once not a surprising fact, and a confirmation of the view that this legend is only a variety of the Geryonic legend.

It has been disputed how far the legend of Geryon is Greek and how far Phoenician. I am strongly inclined to see in it at least a Phoenician element. In the course of his search for Geryon Herakles is said to have visited Libya, where he wrestled with Antaeus, and Egypt, where he slew Busiris. He set up the pillars which bounded the Mediterranean westwards and sailed the sea in a golden bowl. The home of Geryon was in the island Erytheia which was placed in the neighbourhood of the Phoenician colonies in Spain. Returning thence Herakles came to Tartessus, then through Gaul and Italy to Sicily. These exploits, and the route, are more appropriate to the Tyrian sun-god than to the Greek hero; and a denarius of Postumus of which the type is the conflict between Herakles and Geryon bears the inscription *Herculi Gaditano*, which shows clearly that some of the later Romans took the view I am advocating, for *Hercules Gaditanus* is surely Melkarth. The Cacus myth on the other hand has become the prey of the comparative mythologists, and on linguistic and other grounds they regard it as one of the primitive Aryan myths. But there was no limit to the contamination of myths in antiquity; and it could raise no difficulty if we supposed that both Aryan and Semitic elements are comprised in the completed cycle of Geryonic legend. The Cyprian relief already cited seems to me strongly to support the at least partially Semitic origin of the myth.

In the more genuinely Hellenic version of the cattle-stealing myth, it is Hermes not Cacus who is the thief, and Apollo not Herakles who is robbed. The story of the baby-thief Hermes is well known from the Homeric Hymn, and the allusion of Horace. It is illustrated by an early vase (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 680) on which we see the young Hermes sitting in all the innocence of infancy in his cradle, and evidently denying the crime laid to his charge. On another early vase, probably of Ionian origin, from Caere,<sup>13</sup> we have also

<sup>13</sup> *Nuove Mem. dell' Inst.* ii. 1865, pl. 15. it as relating to the theft of Hermes.  
The vase is published by Helbig, who interprets



representations from this myth. On one side of the vase is the infant Hermes in his cradle and oxen in a cave, while on the other a youth is pursued by a winged deity, probably Hermes by Apollo. But Hermes as cattle-stealer did not become acclimatized in Greek art, while the other version in which the alternative sun-god Herakles drove off the cattle of Geryon or recovered his cattle from Cacus became fully incorporated in the Greek cycle of legends, and whether through Phoenician or Greek or other influence became current in Italy and Sicily.

On the whole there are few Greek vases which have a greater interest for the Comparative Mythologist than that which is before us; and if in the light of it the tales of Greek mythology seem to change constantly in passing from country to country, and to be contaminated from various sides, this is a lesson which the growing science of Comparative Mythology is constantly impressing on us with greater and greater force. Only when associated with local cultus or embalmed in great works of poetry and art did ancient myth retain anything like a definite or permanent outline.

PERCY GARDNER.

ODYSSEUS AND KIRKE ON A BOEOTIAN VASE.

[PLATE IV.]

THE vase of which an illustration is given on Plate IV. is one that has lately been acquired by the British Museum, and is in many ways of exceptional interest. It is a specimen of a peculiar class of local vases, which first became known through excavations made in 1888 on the site of the Kabeirion at Thebes. A full account of these excavations and their results was given by Dr. Winnefeld and other writers in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* for 1888, Vol. xiii. pp. 81, 412 ff.<sup>1</sup>

The vase under discussion is not the only one of this kind in the Museum; two similar vases were acquired in 1889, one of which is illustrated in the *Museum Catalogue of Vases* (1893), p. 75. These two vases (numbered B 77—8) are skyphoi of the same shape and technique as our present one, and bear designs of a very similar character, though not of such great interest.

The remains of pottery discovered in the Kabeirion are not confined to this local class; vases and fragments covered with plain black varnish were found, and a fair number of examples of Athenian pottery or imitations of the same, mostly with red figures. None of these however present such interest as the local fabric. The majority of the designs appear to have reference to the cult of the Kabeiroi, and are of a Dionysiac character; many of them, as might be expected from the fact of their being found on the site of the temple, bear dedicatory inscriptions to the presiding deities.<sup>2</sup>

The material is a tolerably fine clay of a reddish-yellow colour, on which the designs are painted with a dark varnish, varying from yellow-brown to the deep shiny black of Attic vases of the best period. Occasionally, though not on our vase, accessory pigments of white and purple are employed for details; incised lines are used pretty generally, but as a rule they are confined to the inner markings of figures, the outlines being painted; in a few cases white paint takes the place of incised lines (as in *Athen. Mittheil.* 1888, Pl. 9).

<sup>1</sup> See also *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, p. 14, and *Athen. Mittheil.* xii. (1887), p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> For these I would refer the reader to

Dittenberger's *Inscriptiones Græciae Septentrionalis*, Vol. i. 3575—4126, and *Athen. Mittheil.* 1890, p. 596 ff.



The shape is confined almost entirely to one variety of the skyphos, a variety not previously known, with large deep body, not tapering gradually towards the bottom, as the Athenian or Coriuthian skyphos; the sides bulge slightly outwards and almost form a right angle with the base, so that the width at the foot is almost as great as at the top. The handles are peculiar; they are broad, thin, and ring-shaped, and vertically placed, just below the rim. They are often formed of two or three ribs, and have projections by which the vase may be supported with the finger.

The decorative ornaments are simple, with little variety, and mostly drawn from the vegetable world: vine-wreaths, ivy-wreaths, myrtle and olive are the most common; the wave-pattern is also employed.

Turning to the subjects depicted on the vases, we find that their chief characteristic is one which is not met with except on the late vases of Southern Italy: I mean intentional caricature. Many archaic vases appeal very strongly to a sense of humour, from the helplessness or *naïveté* of the



FIG. 1.

drawing, but in the vases under consideration there seems to be no doubt that the subjects have been drawn with a deliberate attempt at grotesqueness. The reason of this however will be discussed later.

With regard to date, the technique, though it is that of the black-figured style, betrays certain indications of a later date, probably the end of the fifth century B.C. The rudeness of drawing is not the result of inability, but is intended for actual caricature; while there is at the same time a considerable amount of freedom in conception and execution which would not have been possible before the middle of the fifth century B.C. As in the case of the Panathenaic amphorae, these vases retained the older technique and methods down to a much later time, for ceremonial reasons.<sup>3</sup>

Thus much having been said by way of introduction, I turn to the particular instance before us. Judging from its present condition, the vase

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal*, Vol. xi. p. 348.



must have been found in fragments, and put together, but though much mended it is practically complete. The reverse, instead of a subject as is usually the case, has only a vine-wreath painted upon it, as is also the case on the reverse of one of the other Museum vases (B 78).

On the obverse the subject would speak for itself even if one of the figures were not inscribed. The subject, Kirke offering the potion to Odysseus, is illustrated in a very different manner on a vase published by Miss Sellers in this number of the *Journal* (Pl. II. p. 7), and it may be interesting to compare the two representations, Athenian and Boeotian, of this scene. With these two we may join a third vase, also belonging to this class, and presenting a variation of the subject on our vase. It was purchased for Oxford from M. van Branteghem's collection, and is illustrated in Froehner's *Sale Catalogue* of that collection, No. 210 (see below Fig. 2).

The element of caricature is to be seen on other vases from the same source;<sup>4</sup> in the present case Kirke in particular is very strongly caricatured. The moment represented (as also in the other two cases) is that described in the *Odyssey*, x. 314 ff.:

εἶσε δέ μ' εἰσαγαγούσα ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῖλον,  
καλοῦ, δαιδαλέον· ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνης ποσὶν ἦεν·  
τεῦξε δέ μοι κυκεῶ χρυσέῳ δέπα', ὅφρα πίοιμι·  
ἐν δέ τε φάρμακον ἦκε, κακὰ φρονέουσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δῶκέν τε καὶ ἔκπιον, οὐδέ μ' ἔβελξεν,  
ῥαβδῷ πεπληγυῖα ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν, κ.τ.λ.

The conception differs in all three. In our vase on the extreme left we see Kirke holding out a large skyphos which contains the *κυκεῶν*, or potion, which Homer tells us was composed of

τυρόν τε καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν

mingled with Pramnian wine, and baneful drugs, 'φάρμακα λυγρά.'<sup>5</sup> Her figure is squat and dumpy, and she has a receding forehead, snub nose, and protruding lips and chin. Her hair is covered with a netted cap or *κεκρύφαλον*, and she wears a chiton and himation, the folds of the latter being represented by rudely-incised lines. Above her head is the inscription ΚΙΡΚΑ in the Boeotian dialect and alphabet, and there are faint indications of inscriptions over the other two figures, the loss of which is much to be regretted. Before her stands Odysseus leaning on a knotty staff, his right leg drawn back. He has a somewhat scanty beard, but his profile is not so grotesquely rendered as that of Kirke. Over his left arm hangs a chlamys, and on his head is the familiar *pileus*, shaped like a modern pith helmet. A sword hangs at his left side, but is shortly to be drawn from its sheath, ὥστε κτάμεναι μενεαίνων.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile his open hands seem to express his

<sup>4</sup> *Athen. Mitt.* xiii. (1888), Pls. 9—12.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* x. 234.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* 322.



readiness to receive the tempting draught, against which he has been fortified by the agency of Hermes and the herb moly, the

Circae pocula...

Quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,  
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors,  
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus.<sup>7</sup>

Behind Odysseus is seen the loom of Kirke, whereon she wrought 'delicate and pleasing and splendid works, as is the manner of goddesses.' It is not easy however to picture to ourselves from this representation the goddess as Homer describes her:

ἀειδούσης ὀπὶ καλῇ,  
ἰστόν ἐποιχομένης μέγαν, ἄμβροτον οἶα θεάων  
λεπτὰ τε καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα πέλονται.<sup>8</sup>

A few words on the form of the loom as here represented may not be out of place. The primitive loom had only one cross-bar at the top, but later a second one was added; in the present case the upper bar represents the yarn-beam or *iugum*, round which the threads were rolled; the lower is the cloth-beam. The uprights are known as the *ιστόποδες*. I am not sure whether the bar immediately below the cloth-beam is or is not intended for the *κανὼν* or piece of wood which was passed horizontally through the loom, alternately at the front and back of the threads. The threads end in loops (*καῖροι*), which are held down by weights (*ἀγρῦθες* or *λείαι*), as here indicated.<sup>9</sup>

The scene is completed on the right by the figure of one of Odysseus' transformed companions, who in this case appears to have taken the form of a boar; in most representations of this myth the heads alone are transformed, but here the metamorphosis is nearly complete, and our artist has adhered more closely to the words of Homer (*Od.* x. 239):

οἱ δὲ συνῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε  
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.

The legs however remain human, and as the attitude is that of a seated animal, they are drawn up in an awkward fashion owing to their disproportionate length.<sup>10</sup> He is squatting on his haunches, with upturned snout, but though his mind is 'steadfast as afore,' the expression of sadness at his changed lot which the metamorphosed companions wear in other representa-

<sup>7</sup> Horace, *Epist.* i. 2, 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* x. 221.

<sup>9</sup> See Art. 'Tela' in Smith's *Dict. Ant.* <sup>3</sup> II. p. 764.

<sup>10</sup> In the frieze of the choragic monument of Lysikrates the transformed pirates still retain their human legs, though their bodies are converted into dolphins.



tions<sup>11</sup> is somewhat wanting, and he appears rather to be content with his new form.

There are two small points in connection with this representation which I would wish to note, as giving some indication that this is later than the ordinary black-figured vases. Firstly, Odysseus wears the *pileus* which, as far as I know, is not found in archaic art;<sup>12</sup> secondly, the eye in the case of each figure appears to be represented in profile, not, as is invariable on archaic vases, as if seen from the front.

Let us now turn to the two other representations of this incident, the van Branteghem vase (Fig. 2) and the lekythos figured on Plate II.



FIG. 2.

The former vase is a skyphos, but not of the same shape as our vase; it is more like an ordinary Athenian skyphos, with horizontal handles and slightly tapering body. It is moreover covered throughout with black varnish, except for a small panel on each side, on which the designs are painted. The representation of Odysseus and Kirke is curiously like the one just described but, if anything, more strongly caricatured. Odysseus is apparently recoiling in terror from the draught which Kirke holds out to him with an air of determination, stirring it in the meanwhile with a pestle or some other instrument. She resembles our Kirke very closely. Behind her is the loom, similarly depicted, with the addition of a shuttle. The transformed companion however is wanting, nor are the figures inscribed. The other side of the vase has a curious representation of Odysseus traversing the sea on a raft formed of two amphorae; behind him is seen the head of Boreas impelling him along with a blast of wind; both figures are inscribed.

The lekythos with this subject has already been fully described in this volume. The most interesting points of comparison are: (1) the presence of

<sup>11</sup> As on (4) and (5) in the list given below.

<sup>12</sup> This head-gear may however be meant for the petasos, and the same doubt arises as to whether he is wearing a petasos or pileus on the

van Branteghem vase. According to Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 108, Nikomachos was the first to represent Odysseus with the *pileus*. His date is 360 B.C.



one of the transformed companions; (2) Kirke holds out the skyphos to Odysseus much in the same manner as on the Oxford vase. Her expression on the lekythos is not terrifying as in the two former cases, but rather reassuring. Odysseus however draws back and refuses to be beguiled. The loom is absent; in fact I am not aware of its occurrence in any other instance.

Miss Harrison in her *Myths of the Odyssey* has collected and illustrated a large number of monuments which may relate to the Kirke myth.<sup>13</sup> It may however be worth while to repeat them here, as I am able to add a few more to her list. The different scenes represented are as follows:—

I. Odysseus shooting the stag on his arrival in the island (*Od.* x. 157):

(1) A carnelian scarab recently discovered in a tomb at Corneto, inscribed  $\Delta\text{IV}\Theta\text{V}$  (Uthuze, the Etruscan form of 'Ὀδυσσεύς, cf. Corssen, *Etrusk. Sprache*, i. p. 840). See *Notizie dei Lincei*, May 1892, p. 155.

II. Arrival of Odysseus at the palace:

(2) A scene on the chest of Kypselos. Pausanias, v. 19, 7.

(3) Obverse of a r.f. amphora at Parma. *Mon. Inst.* v. Pl. 41.

III. Transformation of Odysseus' comrades:

(4) R.f. amphora in Dresden. *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, Pl. 194, Figs. 1, 2.

(5) R.f. amphora in Berlin (*Cat.* 2342). *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, Pl. 14.

(6) B.f. oinochoe in Brit. Mus. (B 503). Unpublished.

(7) Etruscan sard scarab in St. Petersburg. Harrison, *Myths of Odyssey*, Pl. 20c.

(8) Etruscan sarcophagus at Volaterrae. Overbeck, *Her. Bilder*, Pl. 32, 5.

(9) Similar sarcophagus at Florence. Bruun, *I rilievi dell' urne Etr.* Pl. 88, 1.

(10) Sarcophagus found near Clusium. *Ann. Inst.* 1847, Pl. D.

(11) R.f. lekythos (Naples 3353). Harrison, *op. cit.* Pl. 20a.

(12) R.f. hydria in St. Petersburg. Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. 40, 3.

The two last are doubtful examples.

IV. Odysseus with the herb moly:

(13) Carnelian engraved gem in Millin, *Gal. Myth.* 103, 636, and Inghirami, *Gall. omerica*, iii. 49.

V. Odysseus and Kirke:

(14) B.f. Boeotian skyphos in Brit. Mus. *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. 4.

(15) B.f. Boeotian skyphos at Oxford. *Van Branteghem Sale Cat.* 210.

(16) B.f. lekythos (white ground) in Athens. *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. 2.

(17) B.f. lekythos in Berlin (*Cat.* 1960). *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, Pl. 15.

(18) R.f. amphora (rev. of 3). (Bolte's B. See p. 8 of this volume.)

(19) Pompeian wall-painting, now destroyed. Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéii*, ii. Pl. 43.

(20) Etruscan mirror in the Louvre. Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spiegel*, 403, 2, and Froehner, *Musées de France*, Pl. 24.

<sup>13</sup> See also Bolte, *de Monum. ad Odys. pert.*, p. 21.



(21) A similar mirror in Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.* Pl. 32, 15, and Gerhard, *op. cit.* 403, 1.

(22) Roman lamp. *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, Pl. 194, 4.

(23) Reverse of a *contorniatius*, *ibid.* Pl. 194, 3.

(24) An engraved sard formerly in the Pourtalès Collection (*Cat.* 1260).

VI. Kirke driving forth the swine:

(25) Relief in the Rondanini palace. Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.* Pl. 32, 3.

Two scenes are represented also in the Esquiline fresco, Harrison, *op. cit.* autotype V, and Woermann, *Die antiken Odysseelandschaften vom Esquilinischen Hügel zu Rom*, 1876, Pl. 5.

Of these, the vase-paintings present the greatest and most varied interest, but none more so than the three on which I have dwelt at length; the other monuments are nearly all of late date. In (2) and (6) we may note that Kirke is represented as dwelling in a cave, not a palace. In some cases, such as (17), other transformations than into swine are depicted. With the exception of the chest of Kypselos, none of these monuments appear to be older than the end of the sixth century B.C.

It is a noticeable fact that art-representations which have reference to the myths of the *Odyssey* are very much fewer than those which may be referred to the *Iliad*, to say nothing of the other cyclic poems connected with the siege of Troy. And yet the *Odyssey* is far more varied in incident than the *Iliad*, and might have been expected to offer a much wider field to the painter in search of new subjects. As it is however, the few that we have are nearly all taken from Books vi. and ix.—xii., the others being almost entirely neglected. The reason for this is not easy to see, unless it was that the *Odyssey* had a much less firm hold on the minds of the Greeks than the *Iliad*, which was essentially a national epic, whereas the *Odyssey* was a stirring romance, but no more; and further, it was probably compiled at a later date than the *Iliad*.

Another point that may be noted in passing is that scenes which may be referred to the *Odyssey* adhere much more closely to the details of the Homeric text than those which may be referred to the *Iliad*. With regard to our vase I have by quotations sufficiently shown this to be the case, in spite of the fact that the subject is caricatured, and that therefore more liberty of conception might have been expected. At the same time a Greek artist was never a mere illustrator of Homer; and though the art-tradition seems to have been stronger in respect of the *Iliad*, variations from the Homeric version are not seldom to be found in scenes from the later poem. This is not the case however with Graeco-Roman art. Art-traditions were worn out, and all power of original conception was lost; and thus we find that frescoes, reliefs, and other works of art reproduce with slavish fidelity all the details of the Homeric text.

As far as I know, these two vases are the only ones of the Kabeirion group which represent Homeric subjects; but Winnefeld gives two interesting mythological scenes in the *Athen. Mittheil.* for 1888, p. 421: Kephalos hunting a fox with his hound Lailaps, and Bellerophon with



Pegasos slaying the Chimaira (*op. cit.* Pl. 11.). Both scenes are caricatures. It has been suggested to me by Mr. C. R. Peers that the subject on the obverse of the skyphos in the British Museum, B 77, represents Peleus bringing the young Achilles to Cheiron; I think this interpretation is probably correct. A favourite subject is that of Pigmies in contest with cranes (rev. of B 77 in Brit. Mus. and *Athen. Mittheil.* Pl. 12). On Plate 9 Winnefeld publishes a remarkably interesting representation of the deity Kabeiros apparently holding a symposium, with attendant figures. All have their names inscribed above them: Kabeiros, Pais, Pratolaos, Mitos and Krateia; Mitos and Pratolaos are strongly caricatured. On the reverse of the same vase is a female head inscribed Σατύρα; and another interesting fragment shows a train of worshippers approaching the Kabeiros, somewhat in the style of reliefs of Asklepios. The scene published by Winnefeld recalls very strongly the Dionysiac scenes on the black-figured vases; in fact, were not the reclining figure inscribed, one would identify him with Dionysos. It would seem then that Kabeiros held the same position in this local Theban cult that Dionysos held in the Athenian religion, and it is worth while endeavouring to trace to what extent this is true.

The worship of the Kabeiroi appears to have originated in north-west Asia Minor, though various authorities mention other sites of their worship; still they appear to have been indigenous to Asia Minor. The first place apparently to which the worship was transferred was the island of Lemnos, which being of a volcanic nature had been an ancient seat of the Hephaistos-cult. The Kabeiroi seem to have been sons of Hephaistos and Kabeira; they appear as πρόπολοι of the former deity, and as personifications of his power and works.<sup>14</sup> Nonnus calls them δαίμονες ἐσχαρεῶνος. At the same time they are genii of the fecundity of the sun fed by subterranean fires, especially in the production of the vine. In the mysteries they had secret names, but they were generally known as Θεοὶ μεγάλοι, or δυνατοί. Hephaistos in the mysteries appears to have been *primus inter pares*, the Kabeiros *par excellence*. Nonnus gives the names of the other two as Alkon and Eury-medon.<sup>15</sup>

In Samothrace their worship was closely connected with that of Hermes, who was also known as Κάσμεϊλος. We find Dionysos associated here with Hermes and Hephaistos in the Kabeiric worship, while on one of the coins of Hephaistia a bunch of grapes occurs, which may indicate that he was associated with them in Lemnos also. In Samothrace the Kabeiroi are cosmic deities of the first rank, and have not sunk to the position of mere local genii. As in Lemnos their names were kept secret, and they were spoken of as Θεοὶ μεγάλοι, χρηστοί, δυνατοί. The secret however is profanely betrayed by Mnaseas of Patara and Dionysodoros, who give their names as Axieros, Axiokersos, Axiokersa, and Kasmilos. Apparently Axieros

<sup>14</sup> Some authorities derive the name Κάβειρος from κάλω (Κάβειρος = κάλῃστος); and there seems to be authority for the form Καλῃστος.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. coin of Hephaistia, with two Kabeiroi on rev. and head of Hephaistos on obv.



is equivalent to Demeter, Axiokersa to Persephone, Axiokersos to Hades or Dionysos, and Kasmilos to Hermes; so that here we have at once a connection with the Hellenic deities. Different theogonies however are given by other authors. Another system is given by the Chablais marble in the Vatican,<sup>16</sup> which is a term with three faces—Axiokersos, Axiokersa, and Kasmilos. In character these resemble Dionysos, Kore, and Hermes. Below each head is the figure of a Greek deity, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Eros. The three statues of Phaethon, Aphrodite, and Pothos, made by Skopas for Samothrace (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 25) seem to have been a similar Greek translation of the deities of the mysteries.

A remarkably interesting representation of the Kabeiric deities is given by an Apulian vase in the British Museum (F 116),<sup>17</sup> published in the *Musée Blacas*, Pls. vii. and viii. Orpheus is represented as *μυσταγωγός* to an *ephebos* in the Samothracian mysteries, the latter being accompanied by a *παιδαγωγός*; Orpheus holds back Kerberos by a chain. In front of him are a term and a tree. Eurydike is seated on the right of the scene, as if waiting to be conducted from Hades. But the chief interest of the picture for our purpose is in the upper row of figures. On the left of the scene is Pan, who here takes the place of Skopas' Phaethon; in Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* Pl. 59, a figure undoubtedly intended for Pan is inscribed *Φάος καλός*. Facing him sits Hermes or Kasmilos, and on the right of the scene are Aphrodite and Eros corresponding as shown above to Axiokersa and Axiokersos. A figure of Axiokersa occurs on a krater from Southern Italy, *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, Pl. 16, Figs. 1, 2, inscribed *Ἀξίω* . . .; she resembles Persephone or Aphrodite. On the same vase is represented the infant Dionysos, with his name inscribed.

The essential feature of the grouping of the Kabeiric deities is then: *a goddess, simple or double, between two male gods*. These deities were surrounded by a *cortège* of *πρόπολοι* acting as intermediate between gods and men (see Strabo x. 470). The correspondence of Kabeiric to Hellenic deities in different places where they were worshipped is clearly shown in a table given on p. 762 of Daremberg and Saglio's *Diet. des Antiqs.* (Vol. i.).

But what of the Kabeiric worship at Thebes? Of this we have some account given by Pausanias (ix. 25, 5), who tells us that three miles from Thebes he saw a grove of Demeter Kabeiria and Kore, which only the initiated might enter, and nearly a mile distant lay the temple of the Kabeiroi, the one in fact of which the site has been recently discovered and excavated. 'But as to who the Kabeiroi are,' says he, 'and what sort of ceremonies (*δρώμενα*) are performed to them and to the Mother, I hope the eager student will pardon me if I keep silence.' However his religious scruples allow him to go so far as to give the origin of these *δρώμενα*. There was on this site originally a city inhabited by people known as Kabeiroi; to one of these, Prometheus, and his son Aitnaios Demeter committed some

<sup>16</sup> Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 41.

<sup>17</sup> Lenormant's interpretation in Daremberg and Saglio's *Diet. des Antiqs.* i. p. 766, to

which I am indebted for much information on this subject.



trust. Here again Pausanias feels compelled to keep silence, as to the nature of this trust; but whatever it was, Demeter is supposed to have granted to them the privilege of celebrating mysteries, as a reward for hospitality tendered to her in her wanderings. It is probable that the 'trust' consisted of sacred objects or ἄρρητα preserved in a *cista mystica*. The sacred orgies which they then instituted were ever afterwards associated with Demeter, and were administered by these men and their descendants, forming the sacerdotal family of the Kabeiroi, down to the time of the Epigoni. They were then expelled for a time, but were re-established by Pelarge daughter of Potneus and her husband Isthmiades, in a place called Alexiarous. Afterwards one Telondes persuaded the family to return to its original place, certain honours and sacrifices being decreed to Pelarge. Pausanias concludes his account by showing the awful results of rousing the wrath of the Kabeiric deities, as the people of Naupaktos did by setting up δρώμενα in imitation of those in Thebes, or as the Persians under Mardonius who rashly entered the temple and were all seized with madness and threw themselves into the sea. Again when Alexander conquered Thebes, some Macedonians who penetrated into the temple were struck by lightning or otherwise slain. In the time of Epaminondas we are told that there was a great revival of the ceremonies in the Kabeirion. They were definitely re-established by Methapos of the sacerdotal family of Lykomides (Paus. iv. 1, 5), who appears to have been a kind of travelling hierophant who went about reviving old mysteries; Pausanias tells us how he did so at Andania in Messenia.

We must not suppose with K. O. Mueller that Boeotia was really the cradle of the Kabeiric cult, though even in Boeotia it goes back to Pelasgic times; but there is no doubt that Kern's view of its Oriental origin is the correct one.<sup>18</sup> The same association of Demeter and Kore with the Kabeiroi is found at Anthedon (Paus. ix. 22, 5): 'Ανθηδονίοις δὲ, μάλιστα που κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλεως, Καβείρων ἱερὸν, καὶ ἄλλος περὶ αὐτό ἐστι πηλσίον δὲ Δῆμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς κοῆς, καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου λευκοῦ. Διονύσου τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται καὶ ἄγαλμα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ.

As Hephaistos was the centre of this worship in Lemnos, and Hermes in Samothrace, so was Dionysos its centre at Thebes, and, as we see from the inscribed fragment mentioned above (*Athen. Mittheil.* 1888, Pl. 9), he was here the Kabeiros *par excellence*. Kern notes the fact that all the dedicatory inscriptions are in the singular: Κάβιρος, τοῖ Καβίροι, το(ῦ) Καβίρο(υ), and so on. The Pais on the above-mentioned fragment may be one of the πρόπολοι or attendant inferior deities, but as an inscription has been found τῷ Καβείρῳ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ Καβείρου, it is more natural to suppose with Kern that the youthful Dionysos is intended, or perhaps Dionysos-Zagreus, under the influence of the Orphic mythology which just at this time appears to have been permeating Thebes.<sup>19</sup> He answers to Kasmilos, as did Eros in the group by Skopas. The other inscribed names on this fragment,

<sup>18</sup> *Hermes*, 1890, p. 1 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *J.H.S.* xi. p. 348; on this subject see also

O. Crusius, *Beitr. zur Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* (Leipzig, 1888), p. 10 ff.



Pratolaos, Mitos and Krateia, are to be explained in the same way. Pratolaos is the first representative of mankind; Krateia is of course strength personified; while *μίτος* in the Orphic writings is used as a synonym for *σπέρμα*, agriculture being regarded as a method of weaving. Mitos is then the personified principle of reproduction.

The Orphic character of the Kabeiric worship at Thebes in the fifth century has been sufficiently discussed by Kern, and by Mr. Cecil Smith in the number of the *Journal* already referred to. I wish however to add a few concluding words on the *δρώμενα* of which Pausanias speaks, in order to weave together the two main threads of this paper.

Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. cxviii., has pointed out that many art-types were derived from the actual representations of myths on the stage, in performances which must have corresponded very closely to the medieval miracle-play. It is no doubt something of the kind that Pausanias means by the expression *δρώμενα*. Now the grotesque or ribald representation of myths was an essential part of the Orphic ceremonies, and was transferred to the Kabeiric rites by the wave of influence which spread from Athens to Boeotia in the fifth century B.C. If then part of the Kabeiric ceremonies consisted in a burlesque of mythological scenes, and further it was the habit of the vase-painter to draw his inspiration from these burlesque representations, it is easy to understand why we find these caricatures of mythological subjects on the vases which were connected with the worship of the Kabeiroi. The range of subjects was, as I have indicated, very varied; besides the Kabeiros and his attendant deities, we have Bellerophon and the Chimaira, Kephalos and Lailaps, Peleus bringing the young Achilles to Cheiron, and lastly our two subjects from the *Odyssey*, as shown on the Oxford vase. There does not seem to be any special reason why Kirke should be associated with the Kabeiric worship, so that we have ground for congratulation that, among the few mythological subjects that have come to light among these vase-fragments, two such interesting instances of this particular myth should have been preserved.

H. B. WALTERS.



## RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON.

[PLATE V.]

THE principal object of the present paper is the publication of a remarkable addition to the west pediment of the Parthenon, which is due to the practised eye of Herr Karl Schwerzek of Vienna. At the same time I would take the opportunity of calling attention to other additions and corrections which have been made in the last two or three years, in the sculptures of the Parthenon, as represented by the collection in the Elgin Room of the British Museum. Most of them have already been pointed out in the *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, Vol. i. (1892), but a somewhat fuller discussion seems desirable than is consistent with the scheme of a Catalogue.

### THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

The figure, which is known according to the system of notation introduced by Prof. Michaelis as *Q*, with her attendant figures *P*, *R*, was still in good preservation in 1674, when the pediment was drawn by Jacques Carrey for the Marquis de Nointel. Carrey's drawing of the three figures and of the adjoining group is reproduced in the annexed cut (Fig. 1), which has been taken from the facsimile in the British Museum, corrected in certain details from the photograph published in the *Antike Denkmäler*, Vol. i. Pl. 6. A female figure, apparently complete except for her left forearm, sits to the front on an irregular rocky seat, with her right arm lying in her lap. At each side was a small figure of a boy. It was recognized by Visconti, and has never been questioned, that a portion of the group was extant in the collection of Lord Elgin. The fragment in question<sup>1</sup> consists of the lap and lower limbs of the female figure. The feet, drawn by Carrey, are wanting. The drapery was a long chiton, and a mantle, of which a part falls over the knees, where it lies in deep folds as if slightly agitated and puffed out by a breeze. Together with this fragment of the female figure, a part of the boy at her right side has always been extant, since his thighs,

<sup>1</sup> No. 304 *P*, *Q*; *Mus. Marbles* VI. Pl. 12; Michaelis, *Parthenon* Pl. 8, Fig. 19. See Pl. V. in this volume.

pūbis, right hand, and drapery are still preserved in one piece with the principal figure *Q*.

We owe to Herr Schwerzek the identification of the upper half of the figure of the boy, who is now almost restored to the condition in which he stood when seen by Carrey.

Among the fragments in the Elgin collection are two male torsos, not dissimilar in size, which have always been accepted without question as belonging to the metopes. They are so described in the *Synopsis* of 1817 and elsewhere. They are engraved as a vignette on the title-page of Part VII. of the *Museum Marbles*, and are said to have 'evidently been broken from some of the metopes' (p. 3). One of the two torsos<sup>2</sup> is undoubtedly a part of one of the metopes of the south side (Michaelis, Pl. 3



FIG. 1.

No. xvi.) which was seen complete by Carrey, and which was destroyed in the great explosion. This attribution, which was established from the pose of the torso, was made more certain, a few years ago, when it was found that the Lapith head presented by the late Duke of Devonshire in 1859 could be attached to the torso. The companion fragment was assigned by Michaelis to the metope No. xiv. of the south side, which like No. xvi. was drawn by Carrey, and afterwards destroyed in the explosion. Michaelis observes (text, p. 133) that in this metope 'only the torso of the youth is certainly preserved, for that it belongs to this place can hardly be doubted.' The group to which the torso was thus assigned consists, in Carrey's drawing, of a woman holding a flat dish or basket in the left hand, and some uncertain object in the right hand, and of a youth nude except for a large mantle, who appears to be raising his left hand in horror or astonishment.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. of Sculpture in Brit. Mus.* Vol. I. no. 342, 3.



The torso, as drawn by Michaelis, fits fairly though not perfectly with Carrey's drawing, and his attribution has been accepted without hesitation.<sup>3</sup>

In November, 1892, Herr Schwerzek made an examination of the torso when studying the Parthenon fragments with a view to a restoration of the west pediment on which he is engaged. With a sculptor's eye he observed that the forms are soft and full like those of a young boy, and are not of the dry muscular character of the Lapiths of the metopes. Further, the figure was worked completely in the round, which was a cause for suspicion, though not in itself conclusive, as the figures of the metopes are in parts wholly disengaged from the background. For these reasons he suggested a trial, and with a plaster squeeze of the fractured surfaces it was easily ascertained that there was an unmistakable fit over an area of about four square inches, although the first sharpness of the surfaces had been somewhat worn away.

The torso is now fixed in position, as shown in Plate V from two points of view, and has given significance to the parts of the figure which were previously known.

The boy stands close to the woman, and turns towards her. The left arm was raised, and may have been placed on the woman's right shoulder. Her right arm is, I think, drawn by Carrey as lying across her waist, although this has been overlooked in many of the current copies of Carrey's drawing. From its position it must have been hard to see, but the sketch is confirmed by the fact that there is no trace of the arm round the boy's body which would have been a natural alternative position. The boy's right arm, which was complete in Carrey's time, is now missing from the middle of the upper arm, but its direction is certain. We see it start downwards from the shoulder and the fingers still rest on the woman's right knee. There they rest on an end of drapery, probably a small himation belonging to the boy, which can be seen passing round the left thigh. The boy's right leg, which is lost from below the knee, was evidently bent at the knee, as beyond that point there is no trace of it against the woman's drapery. He stood on a rocky step, described below, to which the figure was fitted.

The head and left arm have evidently been lost for a long time, and so far as the upper part of the figure is concerned, we now have it in the same condition as that in which it was seen by Carrey, except for the loss of the right arm. Here, as in other cases, additional knowledge only serves to increase our admiration for the wonderful accuracy of Carrey's hasty outlines. On the other hand it is worthy of notice that the sketch by 'De Nointel's Anonymous Artist,'<sup>4</sup> which in truth appears to be nothing more than an unintelligent copy of Carrey, is absurdly wrong. The boy is represented as a mutilated trunk, seated in the woman's lap.

By the time of Dalton's visit to Athens in 1749 the torso of the boy seems to have disappeared from its place, as it is not indicated in Dalton's

<sup>3</sup> *Guide to the Elgin Room*, Part I. (ed. 1880) p. 39; *Cat. of Sculpture*, I. no. 342, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Michaelis, Pl. 7; *Antike Denkmäler*, I. Pl. 7.



sketch.<sup>5</sup> This however is not conclusive evidence, since it would be nearly hidden from the point of view chosen by Dalton.

The question at once presents itself whether this addition to the group has any bearing on the interpretation of it, but I fear that we are not brought any nearer to certainty. According to most of the older interpreters the group consists of Latona with Apollo and Diana, but it does not seem likely that two of the gods would be represented as children on the pediment. The view more favoured by later writers is that we have here Leucothea<sup>6</sup> with Palaemon, while the child to the right is regarded as belonging to the next group. The lower part of the figure *Q* is cut away square, so as to stand on and against a step. This step appears in Carrey's drawing to project to the right beyond the figure, and to furnish a footing for the right leg of the child *R*. But his left leg seems to have been supported on the knee of the reclining figure *T* (Thalassa?) and he is thus brought into immediate connection with the nude figure *S*, often called Aphrodite.

An entirely new interpretation of the group has recently been proposed by Prof. Furtwaengler, in a paper read before the Archaeological Society of Berlin. As the paper is still unpublished, except for a brief summary of the results,<sup>7</sup> it would be premature to discuss its conclusions in detail. According to the general scheme of interpretation we have the family of Cecrops (*B*) on the left of the central group, and the family of Erechtheus on the right. The figure of Erechtheus himself does not now exist, and is not recorded to have existed by Carrey, but he is conjecturally interpolated between *U* and *V*. Thus on the pediment, as in Attic mythology, the family of Cecrops is more specially identified with Athene, and the family of Erechtheus with Poseidon. We are at present only concerned with the figures immediately on the right of the central group which consists of the contending gods and their charioteers. Next to the charioteer of Poseidon, according to Furtwaengler, we have Oreithyia (*Q*) with her Boread sons Zetes (*P*) and Calais (*R*), who are followed by Creusa (*T*) with her son Ion (*S*) in her lap.

Such is the scheme of Prof. Furtwaengler, and the idea of grouping the families of Cecrops and Erechtheus on the two sides of the pediment is attractive and ingenious. It is difficult however to see how the author will be able to establish his case with any degree of certainty, and several assumptions of doubtful validity are involved.

The whole scheme depends on the conjectural insertion of a figure of Erechtheus (*U*<sub>1</sub>) between *U* and *V*. Opinion has been divided as to whether anything is missing in this place, and Sauer's newly-made plan<sup>8</sup> of the

<sup>5</sup> Dalton's Engravings; Michaelis, *Hilfs-tafeln*.

<sup>6</sup> I believe that Herr Schwerzek has suggested that Carrey's drawing may indicate a large shell below the feet of *Q*. If so, her marine character is established.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1891, p. 70. Here is the list of proposed identifications: *A* Bouzyges, *A*<sub>1</sub> Wife of Bouzyges, *B* Cecrops, *C*—*F* Children

of Cecrops, *G* not stated, *H* Hermes, *I* Athene, *M* Poseidon, *N* Iris (= *J* of east pediment), *O* Nereid, *P* Zetes, *Q* Oreithyia, *R* Calais, *S* Ion, *T* Creusa, *U* Daughter of Erechtheus who was sacrificed, *U*<sub>1</sub> Erechtheus, *V* Boutes, *W* Wife of Boutes.

<sup>8</sup> *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1891, Pl. 3 p. 67.



floor of the pediment seems to leave no room whatever for the missing figure.

The nude figure *S*, here called Ion, is interpreted as male. This has been done already, especially by Loeschcke<sup>9</sup> who called the figure Heracles in the lap of Melite, and who is followed by Miss Harrison,<sup>10</sup> so far as the sex is concerned.

To make the figure male avoids the difficulty presented by a nude female figure in a pediment of the Parthenon, but the fact is hardly open to question that both Carrey and Dalton independently saw the figure as female and so drew it. It seems unsafe to set our views of what is or is not possible against the testimony of two independent and competent witnesses.

The discovery of our fragment proves that the child *P* was wingless, as appears also in Carrey's drawing. But the sons of Boreas as we know them on the vases and elsewhere are stalwart figures, always winged and often bearded. They have wings in Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 181 and in scenes where they pursue the Harpies, as on the chest of Kypselos and the throne of the Amyclaeon Apollo.

Hence, even if we grant that Pheidias chose to represent them as children with their mother, we should expect them to be winged in order to conform as far as possible to the ordinary type. For the idea that the sons of Boreas were born without wings, and that their wings only grew with their beards, no better authority is quoted than Ovid (*Met.* vi. 712).

#### THE CENTRAL GROUP OF THE WEST PEDIMENT.

The terra-cotta lamp, of which a cut is here given (Fig. 2), was acquired from Cyprus by the British Museum in 1884, but has not hitherto been published. The work is roughly moulded and slight, but the group has the interest which attaches to every fresh representation of the strife between Athene and Poseidon, as suggesting possible interpretations of the action of the central group of the west pediment.

The diameter of the relief is 1½ inches. Athene steps quickly forward from the left, with her shield raised on her left arm. Her right hand is also advanced, but its action is not clearly defined. She wears a long chiton, an upper chiton girt at the waist, a small mantle flying from her shoulders, and a crested helmet. There are no traces of an aegis. Poseidon, on the right, appears to be slightly drawing back. The right hand is raised and extended as if deprecating the advance of Athene. He is half draped by a mantle which passes round the legs and over the left arm, and in his left hand he holds the trident. The olive-tree occupies the middle of the field. The token of Poseidon is not represented. There does not appear to be a serpent coiled round the stem of the tree, although the roughness of

<sup>9</sup> *Dorpat Programm*, 1884.

<sup>10</sup> *Myths and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 445. Sauer (*loc. cit.* pp. 79, 80) has attri-

buted two male fragments to this figure, which would be conclusive, if the correctness of the attribution could be established.



the work prevents certainty on the point, and there is no owl in the branches.

The moment represented on the lamp appears to be that of the accomplished decision. Athene steps forward with her shield-arm raised, not so much as assaulting Poseidon (for in that case Poseidon would necessarily assume a more hostile attitude), but rather as standing forth, almost in the position of a *Promachos*, to guard her sacred token, and at the same time the city that she has won, against all the world. Poseidon meanwhile draws back with right arm raised. It may be suggested that this is also a not impossible interpretation<sup>11</sup> of the action of the central group of the pediment, whether we admit or reject any connection between it and the lamp. The most obvious difference is that the Athene of the lamp is turned in the opposite direction to that of the pediment. The discrepancy however is less, if we



FIG. 2.

suppose that the Athene of the pediment was stepping somewhat forwards as well as outwards. In Carrey's drawing Athene and Poseidon are both full face to the spectator and in the same plane with one another. Such a position seems unnatural, and makes it hard to find room in which to dispose the various figures. If, which seems more probable, the two figures were somewhat turned round, so as to partly face one another, the group would be less remote from that of the lamp. In that case the whole figure of Athene would be best represented by the marble statuette from Epidaurus, quoted in this connection by Miss Harrison.

Just as in the Myronian group of Athene and Marsyas, Athene throws down the flutes and strides away, hardly deigning to look back at the Satyr, who makes a gesture of surprise and alarm, so on the pediment she looks back only at Poseidon, while she steps forth as the champion of her olive.

<sup>11</sup> This suggestion is partly due to Herr Schwerzek.



## THE METOPES.

The head of a Lapith,<sup>12</sup> of which an illustration is published here (Fig. 3) for the first time, was discovered in the last Acropolis excavations, I believe in the year 1889. The fragment consists of the left side of a head, with the beginning of the neck. It is split away, along the natural grain of the marble, through the angle of the right eye and the right angle of the mouth. The nose and upper lip have also been broken off. The fragment is a part of an ideal youthful head of the rather meagre type of the Parthenon metopes, from which it is undoubtedly derived. The proportions agree, the hair and eyes are similarly treated, and the general effect is alike. A closer



FIG. 3.

examination shows that the head was turned to the right, when it was still in position. The left ear is only roughly sketched out, and the surface round it has only been partially finished. In particular a mass of material has been left standing immediately behind the ear, and there still remain conspicuous tool-marks. Moreover the whole of this side of the head is

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogue of Sculpture in Brit. Mus.* I. no. 242, 6. Height from crown of head to below chin 6½ in.

somewhat flattened. The corrosion, so far as it is possible to judge from what remains to us, was more extensive on the right side of the head than on the left.<sup>13</sup> Everything therefore indicates that this fragment is the inner side of a head turned to the spectator's right, imperfectly worked because difficult of access, on account of its nearness to the ground of the relief.

So far, attempts to fit the fragment to a torso have been unsuccessful. Assuming that our choice is limited to the metopes of the south side, the possible alternatives would seem to be Michaelis, Pl. 3. Nos. ii, viii, ix, xiv, xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, xxvii.

If further we assume that the head was dislodged in comparatively recent times, the choice is further restricted to ii, viii, ix, xiv, xxiv, xxvii, the remaining heads having been lost before the time of Carrey. Of these viii is excluded by the angle at which the chin joins the neck. I do not think it is possible to limit the choice any further. This however is less to be regretted than would otherwise be the case since, if the head were placed in position, it would chiefly exhibit to the spectator the side on which the marble has been split away.

#### THE FRIEZE.

Several fragments of the frieze were found in the Acropolis excavations of 1888-9. One fragment—the head of Iris—which had been broken off at a very early period, belongs to the east side. The remaining fragments, so far as I am aware, had been broken off at a more recent period, and belong to the east half of the north side of the frieze. They had probably been dislodged in the explosion, and lay on the ground until they found safety in burial among the fragments which the Turkish governors hardly dared to sell to travellers though they readily burnt them into lime.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE EAST SIDE.

The head of Iris in the east frieze has already been published with the fulness that its beauty deserves,<sup>15</sup> and I therefore only need mention it briefly. This head is, on account of its admirable preservation, a valuable

<sup>13</sup> Compare Dr. Waldstein's analysis of another Lapith head in an earlier volume of this *Journal* (*J.H.S.* iii. p. 231).

<sup>14</sup> A curious passage in the letters of Lady Craven, who was afterwards Margravine of Anspach, describes how she would gladly have picked up the broken pieces of the Parthenon sculpture that lay on the ground, but could not have 'even a little finger or a toe.' She had come, in May 1786, in a vessel sent by Choiseul-Gouffier to remove sculpture, but the governor represented that if anything were taken, his

enemies would have the excuse that they wanted for having his head struck off. Meanwhile the marbles were being freely burnt into lime. *A Journey to Constantinople* by Elizabeth Lady Craven, Dublin, 1789, p. 333.

<sup>15</sup> By Dr. Waldstein, who assisted at the discovery and identification, in the *American Journa. of Archaeology*, v. Pl. 2. p. 1. The present appearance of the slab is given in the *Cat. of Sculpture in the Brit. Mus.* i. Pl. 6, Fig. 1.



addition to the frieze. It was found in the lower courses of a piece of masonry on the Acropolis, said to be of the Byzantine period; its loss may therefore well have been one of the first mutilations that the Parthenon suffered. It may, as suggested by Dr. Waldstein, have been broken off from its slab, when the slab was removed in the course of alterations for the purposes of the church, and have been immured soon after in the place in which it was found. Meanwhile the main slab, changing its position from time to time, but always within reach of the ground, was seriously injured.<sup>16</sup> All the heads on the slab are defaced, and exhibit tool-marks showing that the mutilation was deliberate. The Iris alone was in safety. The earliest drawing of the slab, that of Stuart, shows the head to be wanting,<sup>17</sup> as was necessarily the case if the masonry in which the head was found is correctly dated. In the fragment we have the head of Iris turned outwards to the left, while she raises the coil of her hair with her left hand.

#### THE NORTH SIDE.

The annexed illustration (Fig. 4) shows an additional fragment of slab ix, which contained a part of the group of old men. In the cut the extant



ix.

FIG. 4.

x.

fragments are combined with Carrey's drawing in the manner introduced by Michaelis. This fragment, which was found in the recent Acropolis excavations, has a joint on its left side. This fixes its position in the slab and it is further identified by the conspicuous right forearm, held out horizontally, which belongs to the old man (Michaelis, No. 31) and which is duly

<sup>16</sup> For the history of the slab, so far as it is known, see Michaelis, p. 258.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Waldstein is mistaken (*loc. cit.* pp. 6,

8) in speaking of a restoration of Iris by Stuart, and in the *Museum Worsleyanum*. The fracture is correctly indicated in both cases.



given by Carrey. It is not surprising that Carrey should have failed to notice the clenched left hand of No. 30 which is seen just issuing from the folds of his himation. At the left of the slab is a part of the drapery of the figure No. 29. The lower corner of slab x is a less recent addition, but it is not given by Michaelis.

Figure 5 shows the present condition of the first of the chariot groups on the north side of the frieze. The newly added fragment, which contains the upper half of the Apobates, restores a fine figure to the frieze and at the same time furnishes a good means of judging the comparative values of Carrey and Stuart as authorities for missing portions.



FIG. 5.

We have here the figure of an Apobates fully armed with a crested helmet, cuirass with pendant flaps (*pteryges*) and circular shield. He turns back towards the following chariots, and raises his shield on his left arm as if to check their motion. The cuirass has some of the elaborate decoration which is found on one other figure of the frieze, the horseman, No. 11, on the west side. The shoulder straps in both cases terminate in lions' heads in low relief. The square hole in the middle of the breast, which is faithfully drawn by Carrey (Fig. 6), is peculiar. The bronze ornaments attached to the



frieze were fastened by small round holes drilled in the marble. The large square hole suggests a marble dowel. Perhaps a Gorgoneion in marble may have been attached in the middle of the breast, as in the case of the rider on the west side, referred to above.

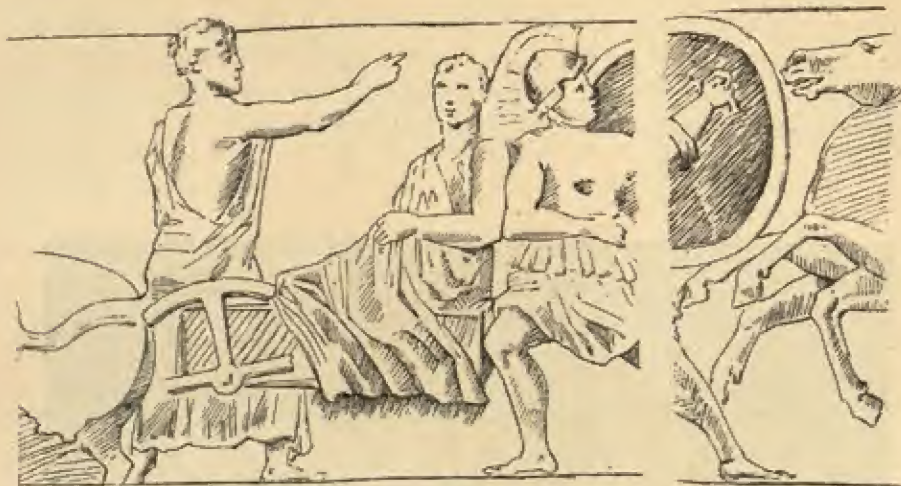


FIG. 6.

On the left edge of the new fragment, which was broken off before the time of Stuart, is a part of the hair of the charioteer. This is of some importance, because it proves that Stuart's drawing (Fig. 7), which makes the charioteer's head feminine, is not accurate. Part of the hair being on this fragment, and part being on the slab, only a narrow splinter of marble containing the face is missing. It is probable that this was broken off at the same time as the fragment with the Apobates, and that the line of fracture at the same time passed through the head of the marshal. In any case it is clear that Stuart's drawing is incorrect as representing the head as complete, and at some distance from the edge of the marble. The chariot-wheel is also restored in Stuart's engraving, though reduced to its present state in the time of Carrey.

We have here a good example of the accuracy of Carrey, and of the untrustworthiness of the illustrations in Stuart's book. As regards the further question which presents itself, whether Stuart or his engravers were in fault, the almost total disappearance of Stuart's original materials makes it difficult to form an opinion. Something however may be gathered from the fragmentary papers that survive in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.* 22152, 22153), of which I hope to give more account on another occasion. These papers give the impression that Stuart was a careful draughtsman, accurate in detail, and catching also the spirit of the originals, and that he suffered much at the hands of the engravers during his period of infirmity



and after his death. For example a few of the measured drawings<sup>18</sup> for the frieze of the monument of Lysicrates survive. These are sketched in a bold hand which has none of the un-Attic character of the engravings, and are afterwards covered with numerous measurements, in one instance more than fifty, which are chiefly in the form of vertical and horizontal co-ordinates.



FIG. 7.

So also on folio 76 we have the original sketch of the long missing Athenian relief with Athene and Marsyas,<sup>19</sup> which is so strangely transformed in the engraving. As drawn by Stuart, the Athene and Marsyas are Greek in character, and the drawing is accurate, so far as can be judged from the remains of the relief. The engraver has added the Gorgoneion and altogether unclassical plume. He has interpolated the flutes, omitted the tail of Marsyas, caricatured both the faces, and weakened the pose of both figures. The ludicrous restoration<sup>20</sup> of the female figure with the torch on the east frieze of the Parthenon, impossible for one who had seen the original figure, is clearly the work of the engraver, who misunderstood a rough sketch. In the present case therefore it is probably only fair to Stuart to credit his engraver with the restoration of the two heads and the chariot-wheel. The examples quoted above are enough to show that if Stuart's papers, many of which were found to be missing at the time of his death,<sup>21</sup> could be traced, they might furnish much valuable matter.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Antiqs. of Athens*, I. Preface.

<sup>19</sup> *Antiqs. of Athens*, I. p. 27; *Arch. Zeit.* 1874, Pl. 8. Miss Harrison, *Myths and Monuments*, p. 409 (relief reversed).

<sup>20</sup> *Antiqs. of Athens*, II. Chap. I. Pl. 25.

<sup>21</sup> *Antiqs. of Athens*, Preface Vol. II.

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps some reader is in a position to pursue the following clue to some of the lost Stuart papers. On Aug. 13, 1809, Mr. Nathaniel Barnardiston of Sudbury wrote to Josiah Newton of High Holborn, the publisher of vol. iv. of the *Antiquities of Athens*: 'The two



The figure of the man leading the first cow in the next cut (Fig. 8) has recently been improved by the identification of the fragment containing a part of the elbow and drapery. This fragment is not one of the recent finds, but it had previously been misinterpreted as part of the drapery of a leg.



FIG. 8.

The head of the same figure and the greater part of the next figure but one are less recent additions, but they are all later than the publication of the work of Michaelis.

A. H. SMITH.

papers you mention in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1783, vol. 53 signed A. H. respecting Stuart were very probably written by the late Anthony Highmore of Canterbury Esqre. (who was intimate with Stuart) and his son Mr. Highmore of Ely Place, Holborn, as a Friend to Literature, will communicate any information that he can obtain from his father's papers. If you should not be acquainted with him, be so good as give my compts. to him, and inform

him the last time I had the pleasure of seeing his worthy Father, for whom I had the highest respect, I remember he showed me a vol. of Stuart's views, given him by the author who was his particular friend etc.' *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 22152, fo. 31. Anthony Highmore of Canterbury was an artist (1719—1799), and father of Anthony Highmore a writer on law (1758—1829). Only one of the two papers is signed A. H.

## THE LEPER TERRA-COTTA OF ATHENS.

IN the collection of the terra-cottas at the Polytechnic in Athens many of the figures have points of interest bearing on the development of art, or on the science of comparative mythology or religion. One small figure (No. 943) is, on the other hand, of especial interest to the medical mind, affording as it



does a good specimen of the typical leper physiognomy. It is a pitiful glimpse into the olden time which this figure gives, and, no less than a living imported leper I saw last spring at the Evangelismus Hospital, does it strike a discord with the beauty of Athens and its surroundings.

This little figure is in the midst of a number of small, thick-set figures in rough terra-cotta, of uncertain origin. They were bought at a sale, and their history cannot now be traced ; but from their general character they are classed



with others of about the third century B.C. They were evidently intended to be caricatures of contemporary life. Jolly, rollicking men suggest noisy Bacchic carousings; a portly, elderly woman bends with somewhat comical, grandmotherly solicitude over her nursling; and other well-executed, but more or less coarsely imagined, figures are so obviously designed to provoke laughter, that one pulls up with a start, and almost with a shudder, before the poor leper No. 943. He also may have been considered a fit object for derision by the populace, which, like children, is without pity for the helpless and the hideously deformed. These caricatures were doubtless executed for purchasers not much more refined in feeling, whatever they may have been as judges of art, than the ships' crews of various nationalities which still lounge about the Piræus, and even occasionally invade the streets of Athens.

A practised eye at once detects in the fully exposed face the leonine aspect, the flattened nose, the sunken, sightless eyes, the hypertrophied masses of skin over the eyebrows, on the cheeks and chin, and the generally repulsive cast of countenance characteristic of leprosy. The dejection of the whole attitude, the crouching, diminished, shrunk form, huddled in its mantle, recall vividly the outcast leper of the East, and were the hands not concealed from view, they would no doubt reveal still more of the clinical history of the case. This little figure reminded me vividly of one of my husband's patients whom I used to visit in London, one of the most pitiful cases I ever came across. At the time of his death, at the age of twenty-nine, he had been a leper for fifteen years. The tall young man of six feet had become a little decrepit monster no more than four feet high, whose flexor muscles had to be cut before he could lie extended in his coffin. Both eyes were opaque and fleshy looking, and he had only a dim perception of the difference between dark and daylight. Taste and feeling were gone, hearing on one side was quite gone, and on the other much impaired. 'A living soul in a dead body' I once heard him called, and so he seemed to be. Full of intelligent interest in the affairs of the outer world, he was almost cut off from all communication with others, and even his own mother had abandoned her unfortunate son to the care of strangers.

To return to the Athens terra-cotta. Were there but a cup in the hand, it might pass for a model of one of the wretched lepers still to be seen at Jerusalem (or to be seen at least ten years ago), sitting by the wayside crying out, 'Unclean, unclean,' to warn off the near approach of the benevolent passers by, who drop their offerings into the tin cups held out by the hands that none may touch. Looking at the figure more closely, the disproportion of the head, rendered more obvious by the tubercular masses that have formed at various parts of the surface, is very striking. Altogether this figure deserves to be singled out from its fellows, not for any superior artistic merit, but for the evidence it affords, if any fresh evidence were needed, of the essential coarseness and debased taste of that portion of the public which such a caricature could gratify or amuse.

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## HARPIES IN GREEK ART.

It would seem to be a difficult matter in archaeology to get rid once for all of an erroneous idea which has firmly asserted itself; at any rate it is desirable when an error has been combated without complete success, to adduce any fresh proofs of the truth that may occur. For this reason I venture to reintroduce a question which, as many will doubtless think, has really been finally settled, I mean the distinction which, to the Greek mind at any rate, existed between the Siren and the Harpy. These two mythological creations were to the Greeks as regards outward form as widely distinct as possible; the Siren has in Greek art the form of a bird with human head, or human bust and arms; the Harpy has invariably the winged figure of a woman, with no other distinguishing feature, unless it be that in one instance her hands are drawn in a method suggestive of claws. And yet we hear it constantly asserted that the Harpy has sometimes in Greek art the body of a bird, like a Siren; and when a figure occurs which has a bird's body with the upper part of a woman's body, this is still described, as in the old catalogues, as 'a Siren or Harpy.'<sup>1</sup>

The error has arisen principally owing to the fact that in the later monuments and literary notices the type of the Harpies became assimilated to that of the Sirens. But this was only due to the process by which, in the wholesale adaptations of Greek myths to Roman ideas, early distinctions of types got lost or forgotten; and so in Roman times we find the Sirens and Harpies (by this time each three in number) figuring in a mutual exchange of rôle; the Siren as a draped woman, the Harpy as a bird-woman. The description which Vergil gives (*Aen.* iii. 216, 233 &c.) of the 'virginei volucrum voltus' and Ovid's 'virgineas volucres' (*Met.* vii. 4) show the Harpy in a new form such as a Greek even as late as the fourth century B.C. would probably have not even recognized.

The most notable case in point in early Greek art is the famous tomb from Xanthus in the British Museum, whereon are sculptured bird-women carrying off diminutive mortals; these are undoubtedly not Harpies but Sirens; this identification (which has of course been long ago suggested) seems to be not only demonstrable from typology, but is also surely more

<sup>1</sup> Thus Engelmann in Roscher's *Lexicon* s.v. describes several Greek 'Harpies' of bird form; distinguishing in this way the type of the

Harpy in relation to death; 'Als wegraffende Todesgöttinnen scheinen sie jedoch mehr in Vogelgestalt dargestellt zu sein.'



suiting to the context; in the sculptures there is no sense of dismay shown in the figures who are carried off, nor yet in their companions; the graceful bird-women support their burdens with the utmost care, and there is no suggestion of rape or violence. The Siren here is the gentle messenger of death who carries off the dead person, not in the sense of Boreas seizing Oreithyia, but rather as Boreas and Zephyros, or Sleep and Death, bear away dead heroes to the tomb. And this is an obvious gain towards the right understanding of the sentiment which is breathed in the sculptures of the wrongly termed 'Harpy tomb': it brings us as it were into range with all the long series of Greek sepulchral reliefs, and especially of those in which the Siren so prominently figures. The old Homeric idea of terror at death has long since given way to a softer, calmer aspect, and with this change the character of the Siren has changed also. The journey of the dead person or of the soul as here shown is in keeping with what we otherwise know of this idea; the Siren performs the same duty as the winged figures on the lekythi, or as the horse which is first shown as a complete figure, and subsequently is represented by a horse's head at a window.

For a detailed examination of the embodiment of the Harpy, I need only refer to the article by Furtwängler in *Arch. Zeitung* 1882, p. 197, where the whole matter is put concisely; this article as I think proves conclusively the unvarying *human* form of the Greek Harpy. I propose here to adduce some further instances which seem both to confirm this view and also to throw new light upon the form in Greek art and the conception which in Greek literature is universally attributed to this mythological type.

The primary, and indeed the unvarying conception of the Harpy in the Greek mind was that of a winged woman, representing a form of wind, and consistently associated with the idea of storm, of great speed, and of disaster. The Harpies belong to the category of the abstract influences of evil, which included the Gorgons and also, in their earlier Homeric aspect, the Sirens; but whereas the Sirens latterly assume a milder sepulchral character, the Harpies always retained their original reputation as spirits of evil.

The principal monumental source of our evidence as to the Harpies is the Berlin vase published by Furtwängler in the article already quoted, where the winged forms of women rushing along with outstretched arms are identified beyond all doubt by the addition of the inscription ΑΡΕΠΥΙΑ. Besides this, we have the various vases with scenes from the legend of Phineus, commencing with the famous Würzburg cup (Sittl, *Die Phineusschale*); scenes from this legend were also shown on the throne at Amyklæ and on the chest of Kypselos (Paus. iii. 18, 9 and v. 17, 4). And lastly, we have the Cyrenaean cup from Naukratis in the British Museum, of which we owe the right interpretation to Studniczka (*Kyrene*, p. 18, Fig. 10). In all these instances, the type of the Harpies never varies; a winged female figure with long hair (Hesiod's *ἡυκόμους*), usually striding along, and usually in contrast to the Boreades.

Their association with winds is constant throughout all Greek times. The Homeric conception indeed in this myth, as in so many others, seems as



it were a break in the stratification; their number is not stated, nor their form; in two instances they are introduced merely as a formula of death, *νῦν δέ μιν ἀκλειῶς Ἀρπυιαὶ ἀνηρεύσαντο* (a 241, ξ 371): in υ 77 they carry off the daughters of Pandareos, and give them as servants to the 'hateful Erinyes.' The points that are here noticeable are that they are associated with the snatching of death, and that this death is regarded as inglorious. It would appear that with the modified ideas regarding death which came in later, the Harpies retained only the repellent part of their character, and were consequently no longer looked upon from a sepulchral point of view. The connexion with the Erinyes is curious in view of the fact that Aeschylus in the *Eumenides* 50 makes the Pythia describe the form of the Erinyes by a comparison with the evidently similar forms of Harpies whom she once saw in a painting carrying off the food of Phineus, with this distinction, that the Erinyes are wingless:—

εἰδὼν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας  
 δεῖπνον φερούσας· ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν  
 αὐταί, μέλαιναι δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι.

Hesiod makes them two in number, Aello and Okypete, corresponding with the dual form which Furtwängler sees in the inscription on the Berlin vase: the names of course imply their attributes of storm and wind. They are children of the sea, begotten of Thaumās and a daughter of Ocean; their sister, in the dualistic principle of the opposing forces, is Iris, the messenger of the gods, and the bringer of rain. According to the most usual account, the Harpies were either killed by the Boreades (whose fate it was to kill or be killed by them) or else driven into localities which vary in the different accounts; these were, the river Tigres in the Peloponnesus, the Strophades (whence according to Hyginus they had originally come), a cave in Krete (whither they were pursued through the Aegæan and Sicilian seas), and Scythia. To sum up then what we have so far gained of their personality, it is this; that they are winged female daemons of storm, wind, and disaster, of human form indeed, but black and abominable to look at: and there is a presumption that the myth wandered throughout the Peloponnesus, the Aegæan, and up to the Hellespont.

There is yet one more passage to be noted; according to Philodemos (*περὶ Εὐσεβ.* p. 43) the Harpies served as the guardians of the apples of the Hesperides; and the same author, quoting Epimenides, says that they were identical with the Hesperides. I think Studniczka (*loc. cit.* p. 26) is certainly right in his conclusion that this identification with the Hesperides must be taken as 'ausser Acht'; but while he thus rejects the latter part of the passage in Philodemos, he accepts the former part. 'There is no doubt,' he says, 'that the Harpies are here (on the Cyrenaean cup from Naukratis) represented as the guardians; their form corresponds entirely to that depicted on the oldest Ionic and Attic representations.' As to the male figures on that cup, he thinks we must here call them too Boreades; 'the



Boreades, none can doubt, were, like the Harpies, originally an independent group of wind-deities.' He therefore looks upon Harpies as well as Boreades in this scene as performing the function of guardians 'or of fertilizers of the tree of the Hesperides.

This last view seems to me hardly tenable, for several reasons. We may admit that at Cyrene the damp north wind coming from the sea would be regarded as a fertilizing agent in the growth of nature; the south wind, on the other hand, coming from the scorching sandy deserts of Africa, could in no wise be so regarded<sup>2</sup>; and it would need more evidence than the mere dictum which Studniczka quotes from Theophrastus<sup>3</sup> to prove the contrary.

It seems much more likely that the two classes of wind-daemons represent the opposing influences of good and evil; this is at once more in keeping with what we saw above was the prevailing conception of the Harpies, and seems to me to suit the treatment of the subject on the Cyrenaean cup. On this cup, as I have previously remarked, the winged figures are carefully separated into two distinct parties, one on each side of the figure; those coming from the left correspond with our type of Harpies, those from the right with the Boreades of the Phineus scenes; they advance swiftly towards each other as if with opposing intentions; and each figure is balanced by an opponent on the opposite side, like combatants in a battle. I would suggest that here again we have the traditional antithesis of Boreades and Harpies; the Harpies, who would attack and injure the good gifts of the Hesperide Kyrene, the Boreades, who would ward off their attack. In this connexion it is significant to note that the direction taken by each party corresponds with the familiar Greek idea of good coming from the right, and evil from the left hand. The passage of Philodemos, a late writer in whose time the original conception of the Harpies had been lost sight of, must be discredited in the latter, equally with the former, part of its statement.

We thus have at Cyrene the Harpies treated in art as definite wind-daemons of evil, in an allegorical representation of nature which suggested itself by the circumstances of the locality. It looks very much as if this particular phase of the myth (which I am inclined to regard as the original phase) had grown up in the Cyrenaica, or at any rate on the north coast of Africa. Studniczka has shown that the population of Cyrene included

<sup>2</sup> This view, which I discussed with Studniczka in 1890, has been further advocated by Head in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xi. Third series, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Φυτ. ιστορ.* 6, 3, 4. τοῦτον δ' εἶναι σπέρμα δ καὶ ὅταν νότος λαμπρὸς πνεύσῃ μετὰ κύβη διαφύπτεται ἐξ ὧν φύεσθαι τὸ σίλφιον. I take this to mean that the silphium seed is ready to be gathered when the S. wind blowing fresh after the dog-days scatters it about. The wind is here mentioned not as a beneficent agent, but merely to indicate the season of the year.

He also quotes Pliny *N.H.* ii. 115: the writer is describing how violent winds and whirlwinds are sometimes caused by the natural configuration of landscape, rocks, &c., and says; Quin et in Cyrenaica provincia rupes quaedam austro traditur sacra quam profanum sit attractari hominis manu, confestim austro volvente harenas. Surely this, if it proves anything, can hardly be taken as proving the beneficent aspect of the S. wind in the Cyrenaica, but rather the precisely contrary conclusion.



settlers from the islands, from Peloponnesus, and Krete; and here we are reminded of the further development of the story, which follows the wanderings of the Harpies into precisely these localities. The dualistic principle so appropriate to the countries adjoining Egypt, the home of Dualism, is preserved in this myth at Cyrene, where it probably originated, the Harpies being balanced by the Boreades, their natural opponents there. When the myth travelled northwards to Greece, where the opposition of the two winds is not so striking, and where in fact the beneficent character of Boreas as an agent of nature is not so obvious, it was necessary (the Harpy being still the parching hot south wind) to introduce a more appropriate balance; and so, in the Hesiodic *Theogony* (representing Peloponnesian types of art), the Harpies are given for their sister, not another wind, but Iris the rain-giver, the remedy for the destructive agency of the Scirocco. Meanwhile, the type of the traditional opposition of Boreades and Harpuiai is passed on into the Phineus legend, but its old significance as a nature-symbolism is now lost, the only instance of its direct connexion with this legend being the Würzburg cup. How it happens that it still appears on this cup, I shall endeavour to show.

The closer observation of nature and natural causes which led to this allegory is rarely evidenced in Greek art previously to the Hellenistic period; the same tendency had existed, it is true, in Mycenaean art, and an echo of it was perhaps preserved in the Peloponnesian cities which had inherited that art;<sup>4</sup> from which source possibly it came to Cyrene with the Peloponnesian influence which we find there. At any rate, it is noticeable that the Mycenaean and Hellenistic periods were both characterized by a strong Egyptian influence; certainly the study of Egyptian ideas and Egyptian wall-paintings must have exercised a deep impression on the Greek artist in this direction. And so it comes that at Cyrene we have especial evidence of this habit of mind; the example which will naturally suggest itself is the Arkesilaos cup, with its homely local colouring in the introduction of the monkey and the stork with a beetle on its leg; the coinage of the silphium towns is full of such touches; the most obvious instance is the beautiful silver tetradrachm of the neighbouring Barca, which has, around the silphium, three animals, of which two, the chameleon and the jerboa, are otherwise unknown to art.

It was a world full of the wonders of animal and vegetable life, such as could not fail to have an effect upon the vivid imagination of the Greek settlers in Egypt. Unfortunately we know as yet so little of the early art of Cyrene. If ever the older site is fully excavated, we may know still more of the stages which led up to the characteristic art of the Hellenistic age.<sup>5</sup>

The provenance of the Würzburg Phineus cup is unknown, and still more the place of its fabrication; according to the idea most generally

<sup>4</sup> Note the hedgehog and lizards introduced in the (Corinthian) Amphiaraios vase found at Caere (Berlin 1655).

<sup>5</sup> Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 27, suggests a parallel

between the symbolism of the Naukratis vase and the Alexandrine statue of father Nile with the  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\alpha$ .



accepted it was made at some Greek city in Asia Minor. Certainly there are traces in the paintings upon it which seem to point to Asia Minor, such as the quadruple wings, the hoofs of the Seileni, and the eight spokes of the wheel. But on the other hand there are also signs which point to a Graeco-Egyptian influence of a somewhat fuller measure even than we usually expect from the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The large eyes which Loeschke claimed for Asia Minor are, I still believe,<sup>6</sup> originally traceable to Egypt; so too is the detached panther's mask which we meet frequently in Egyptian art and which occurs amid strongly Egyptian surroundings on the Polledrara hydria; moreover, fruit-bearing palms were more nearly at hand for the Greeks on the coast of Africa than away in Babylonia, which Sittl suggests was the source of those on the cup. One of the 'Horae,' with her large flower, suggests the nymph Cyrene with her silphium and apple-branch. The group of Seileni and nymphs, and their behaviour on the cup, are more closely paralleled at Daphnae than elsewhere; and both at Daphnae and Cyrene we have the peculiar method of stippling the surface employed thereon for the hairy skin of the Seileni. Lastly, we have, in the whole conception of the scenes on this vase, in the joyful reawakening of nature after the expulsion of the forces hostile to her, and in its homely rendering, a conception which, as I have tried above to show, is exactly in keeping with the artistic methods of the Graeco-African settlers. I would therefore suggest that the Würzburg cup is in reality the product of a Greek colony, not of Asia Minor, but of Africa. It seems to me that the original bearing of the contest between the north and south winds, as there expressed, would not have had its full significance in any other portion of Greece or the Aegaeon.<sup>7</sup>

That this form of the wind-myth was familiar in other Greek colonies of North Africa, will be allowed if the new interpretation be accepted which I have to propose for the vase picture on Fig. 1.

This design occurs on the reverse side of a situla from Daphnae and was published in reduced size in Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. Pl. XXV. 3. It is generally accepted from considerations of form technique and design that these situlae were the work of Greek settlers in Egypt.

On the obverse side is a winged bearded figure whose human body terminates at the waist in a serpent coil, and who holds in either hand a snake. Mr. Murray, who first described this vase (*ibid.* p. 68), discussed the identity of this figure, which might represent either Typhon or Boreas, and decided in favour of Boreas.<sup>8</sup> The question depends upon a much debated passage of Pausanias (v. 19, 1), in which, describing the subjects upon the chest of Kypselos, he says: 'on the fourth side there is Boreas who has seized Oreithyia; he has the tails of serpents instead of feet.'

<sup>6</sup> *Naukratis* i. p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> Its connexion with the Phineus legend is of course a different matter. But, among the various peoples who colonized Naukratis and Daphnae at any rate, there was sufficient inter-

course with the North of Asia Minor to account for the cohesion of the two ideas there.

<sup>8</sup> According to one account the Harpies were the children of Typhon.



Considering that a snake-footed Boreas was undoubtedly the rarest of types, Pausanias must, as Miss Harrison remarks (*Myth. and Mon.* p. lxxvi.), have been led to this identification by an inscription beside the figure: so that we may take it that such a type had existed, although as yet no independent confirmation of the fact has been found. In the early representations of Typhon on the other hand, there is usually an attempt to accentuate his savage character, as for example in the vase (Gerhard, *A.V.* ccxxxvii.) where he is represented with three (?) snake tails and with horse's ears: and again in Hesiod's *Theogony*, l. 823 foll.; of this savage element we certainly find no trace here; so that I think our figure may certainly be taken as Boreas; the fact of there being only one snake body instead of the plural 'tails,' as Pausanias describes, being probably due to a very natural error on the part of that writer.



FIG. 1.

On the reverse side, here given (Fig. 1), is a winged human figure, of uncertain sex, but corresponding exactly to the figures which we have identified as Harpies on the Cyrenaean cup from Naukratis, and to the certain Harpies on the Berlin fragment from Aegina. It is true that this figure is not, as winds usually are, represented in active movement; but this is accounted for by the fact that the Boreas on the obverse side rests calmly on his serpent coil; indeed it is difficult to imagine how a Greek artist could otherwise have treated the snake-legged type of Boreas; for though on the chest of Kypselos he seizes Oreithyia, this does not necessarily imply a motion forwards; and since Boreas here is represented in a restful position, his antithesis on the reverse is also similarly treated. We have in fact the same balance on this vase of good and evil wind-daemons which is shown on the Cyrenaean cup; and the contrast is accentuated by the artist in the adjuncts assigned to each figure. In the field of each scene, attached princi-



pally to the borders, are the linear ornaments usually inserted to fill in empty spaces in vases of this epoch; but beside these, in both cases definite objects have been drawn, which certainly seem to have more significance than merely to attest *horror vacui*. On the obverse behind Boreas is a plant, which rises in full leaf from the ground; this I would suggest is intended by the artist as a symbol of the fertility of vegetation which, in Graeco-African ideas, follows the advent of the mild north wind.<sup>9</sup> On the reverse, in front of the Harpy, are animals which, in the locality where the vase was made, would represent the agencies destructive of both animal and vegetable life. In the upper part of the design is a locust; it is hardly necessary to remark on the obvious significance of this pest in its connection with our scene; I may however adduce the example of the Nikosthenes cup (in Gerhard, *Vases et Coupes*, Pl. 1), where amid scenes of agriculture, sowing and ploughing are in process, and a locust is being driven away from the newly sown soil by a man armed with a long pole. The locust in both cases is undoubtedly the destructive species (*Acridium peregrinum*) of which a good illustration is given in Rawlinson's *Anc. Monarchies*, iii. p. 63. The same creature is shown on several coins (see Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *Tier- u. Pflanzenbilder*), usually of the issues of the great corn- or vine-producing cities of Sicily and South Italy; and generally the types of these coins seem to point to the same suggestion. Thus on a coin of Velia in Lucania (*ibid.* i. 9) the type is a lion devouring a ram's head; above, a locust in field. I am not quite clear as to the exact significance of the hare on our vase;<sup>10</sup> it would appear that the Harpy is setting loose two birds of prey which swoop down upon it, while a third bird, clearly representing a vulture, is already attacking it below. Perhaps here again we may see a parallel idea in the coin-types, as on the Velia coin just mentioned; thus, on the famous dekadrachm of Agrigentum with the two eagles rending a hare (*ibid.* iv. 29), a locust appears in the field; and lastly, on a haematite gem in the British Museum (*ibid.* xvi. 26) we have a group which is especially appropriate to our subject; on this are engraved a lion attacking a gazelle, a vulture attacking an Egyptian long-eared hare (like this hare), a Sphinx, and among other animals a locust. I think therefore that we may fairly consider the symbolism of the animals on our vase as demonstrated, and as constituting an additional proof of the identity of the figure beside whom they are placed.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> A similar plant springs from the ground behind the throne of Apollo as he sits facing Kyrene on the Cyrenaean cup: Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 8, Fig. 3.

<sup>10</sup> It is significant that in the Egyptian ritual the hare is associated with the underworld. Maspero says that the hare is a favourite amulet among the Egyptians, 'whether to render the guardian of the entry more favourable to the dead, or as an incarnation of Osiris.' Cf. also the hare-headed divinity at Denderah and in the vignette to the 146th chapter of the

Book of the dead (Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* p. 351); also on the amphora of 'Fikellura' style (Longpérier, *Musée Napoléon III.*, Pl. 59, 1), a style which as we see from the finds at Daphniae and Naukratis was closely associated with Egypt.

<sup>11</sup> It is just worth noting that the animals on our vase are all turned to the left; if the relative positions of the winged figures on the Cyrenaean cup (*ante* p. 106) have any significance, there may be the same significance here.



So far then we have arrived at the following conclusions; that the earliest idea of the Harpy myth treats them as a multiplicity of hostile wind-daemons, opposed to the Boreades, who are similar in number and idea, but are beneficent; that this myth, with its rich nature symbolism, probably originated among the Greek colonists of North Africa; that the Phineus legend had a more northern origin; and that the Würzburg cup, which is closely connected with the African colonies, shows us an intermediate stage between the two myths.

The general question of the identification of winged figures in early Greek art is a very difficult one, as Langbehn (*Flügelg. der ält. gr. Kunst*, p. 64 foll.) has shown. On the Cyrenaean cups, and on coins attributed to Cyrene, these figures are of frequent occurrence under circumstances which make it hard to say whether they represent Nike, Iris, a Harpy, or a Boread. One would suppose that the Boread would be usually distinguishable by having a beard; this would certainly be the case where he opposes a Harpy, but need not in early art have been invariably the case where one is represented alone; thus on the Cyrenaean cups (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, pl. 13, figs 2, 3) we have, flying in the air beside a horseman, a figure which is usually called Nike, on account of the wreath in its hands; in one case however this figure has a floral head-dress like those of the Boreades in the Naukratis cup; with this we may compare the fragment of another Daphnae situla (*Tanis*, ii. pl. XXVI., 4) where precisely the same figure is shown, wearing only a loin cloth such as would hardly be worn by a female type, and holding in its hand a flower of lotus or silphium. Certainly no other appellation would so well suit this figure as that of Boread. The wreaths so often held by such figures may be only another reference to the fertility associated with Boreades: on the other hand, their frequency in Egyptizing art may possibly be derived from the sign of life (the ankh) which in Egyptian symbolism played a similar part.

An amphora in the British Museum (B 16) should here be noted, as possibly bearing upon our subject.<sup>12</sup> It is of very unusual technique, of pale yellowish clay which has been first covered with a slip of deep red colour; the design is in a shiny black glaze which has in many parts flaked away with the slip, leaving the raw clay exposed: the accessories are in purple and a colour which has faded. It must be either a very early or a provincial example of the b.f. technique, and in any case can hardly be later than 550 B.C. On the neck is a large pattern of lotus buds and flowers: on the obverse is a winged and bearded figure precisely similar to the Boreades on the Würzburg cup, i.e. with short girdled chiton, quadruple wings and wings on feet; he flies to the right in a field filled with flowers; beneath his feet a flower of lotos or silphium (?), exactly like that held by the figure on the Daphnae fragment, springs from the ground. Behind him, Hermes with short chiton, petasos, talaria and holding a very long kerykeion: on right a Siren, under the left handle an eagle (?). On the reverse are two youths on

<sup>12</sup> Published by Panofka in the Berlin *Abhandlungen*, 1846, p. 211, Pl. I.



horseback confronted, carrying each a spear: between them a swan pluming itself; in the field on both sides, lotos buds and rosettes.

The winged figure I take to be a Boread, surrounded as usual by attributes of fertility; the two youths on horseback might very well be the Dioscuri. In the light of what has gone before, we are justified in attributing this vase to a Graeco-African origin, if not actually to Cyrene. The type of Boread, the nature symbolism, the swan, so frequent on Cyrenaean vases, all point to this; and it is well known (Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. p. 1166) how favourite at Cyrene was the cult of the Dioscuri. If so, this is the first instance which has yet come down to us of a b.f. fabric at Cyrene. That such a fabric may have existed there has been suggested by Studniczka (*Kyrene*, p. 13), who quotes the oracle of warning to Arkesilaos III. (Herod. iv. 163) as evidence that in Cyrene pottery was made and exported as far down as the first half of the fifth century B.C.

In the hydriae of 'Caeretan' fabric we have constant evidence of Egyptian influence. Dümmler has already (*Röm. Mitth.* iii. p. 167) remarked on this analogy, especially for instance in the Busiris scene (*Mon. Ined.* viii. 16—17) where the types of negro and Egyptian, the dress (kalasiris) and the shirt worn by the figures are all realistically Egyptian. A close examination of this fabric brings out numerous points of resemblance between the fabrics of Caere and Daphnae.<sup>12</sup> We have here the same nature-symbolism; thus on *Mon. Ined.* vii., 77 are shown trees on a hill, an ape, a dolphin and a hare. In Fig. 2 is reproduced part of a Caeretan vase



FIG. 2.

published by Jahn (*Entführung der Europa*, Taf. v. a, p. 21). The main subject is the rape of Europa, who rides over the sea (indicated by dolphins and other fish) on the bull; in the field behind her flies a winged figure whose type corresponds to that of the Harpy in our Fig. 1. Both Jahn and Dümmler describe her as Nike; the latter compares her to the figure on the Cyrenaean cups, but neither succeeds in explaining the presence of Nike in

<sup>12</sup> On the Caere hydria in the British Museum (B 59, No. xi. of Dümmler's list) are two boys

on horseback with whips and hair knotted up, exactly such as we have at Daphnae.



this scene. On the other hand, Knapp (*Nike in der Vasenmalerei*, p. 7) points out that as yet no representations of Nike have been found on vases previous to the introduction of the r.f. style. The figure is undoubtedly that of a Harpy,<sup>14</sup> a figure which is most suitable to the main subject of the vase; and this seems to me confirmed by the presence of the bird on the left; this bird is a vulture,<sup>15</sup> unmistakably drawn to the life, the appropriateness of which, as an accompaniment to the Harpy in a scene of rape, we have already seen. That this bird differs from the ordinary bird of prey in early Greek art is best shown by a comparison with the eagle or hawk in Fig. 3 (from a Caeretan hydria, *Annali* 1863, Tav. E, F): the vulture has a long neck, bare of feathers, and scarcely any tail.



FIG. 3.

To return for a moment to our Fig. 1, we see a vulture and two birds of prey swooping down on the hare; the history of these birds in Egyptizing art is rather curious; from the relative size here of the flying birds and from the way they are drawn, I think that the artist intended them for carrion crows, which would appropriately accompany the vulture. The best illustration of the two species is found upon a plaque of green schistous stone in the British Museum, from which Fig. 4 is here reproduced. This slab<sup>16</sup> was found in Egypt and appears to have been carved under Egyptian influence; it represents a carrion crow and a vulture in their typical employment of feeding off the corpses of human figures slain in battle. These two birds seem to have been regularly associated in ancient art, originally no doubt in connection with the idea of death or destruction; but later they were taken over for quite a different purpose. In *Röm. Mith.* i.

<sup>14</sup> I am bound to admit that this figure holds in each hand a wreath; but if these Caeretan vases represent an imitative style, the original significance of the wreath may well have been overlooked by the imitator; and on the other hand, the rape of Europa would not be regarded as inauspicious.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the head of the vulture on the tetradrachm of Cyrene (Imhoof-Blumer, v. 9): this bird is of course a common symbol in Egyptian hieroglyphics.

<sup>16</sup> Described by Budge in *Classical Review*, 1890, p. 3226.



(1886) Pl. 1 a scene is shown from the marble Colonna mosaic with the myth of Romulus and Remus. In the centre is a tree with two birds; this tree is no doubt rightly identified with the 'ficus ruminalis' so prominently associated with the myth of Romulus and Remus; if so, the writer is probably also correct in identifying the birds as the pious and parra, which were present at the prodigy. But the drawing leaves no doubt that the birds there shown are the vulture and the carrion crow, and it would seem that the artist of the mosaic had chosen (in the Egyptizing tendency common to most ancient mosaicists) a pair of birds for the purposes of his legend which were already familiarly associated in Egyptizing art.

Lastly, we have a still later stage of their introduction, in a silver patera from Lampsacus published in the *Gazette Arch.* 1877, Pl. 19. This



FIG. 4.

patera was found together with several spoons inscribed with the name of ΑΓΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ, and is probably of about the third century A.D. On it is a figure of Artemis represented as of black skin; below her, two apes, and two negresses leading tigers in chains; on either side of Artemis is a bird; the one on the left is described as an 'épervier,' but it exactly resembles the carrion crow of our Fig. 3; on the right is a 'pintade,' which however has the bald head and neck which mark it unmistakably as a vulture. How these birds came to be employed together for so long a period, it is impossible to say; it is at least interesting to trace the vitality of a type in art, and to find that in the last example, it still has an association with the land of apes and negroes.

CECIL SMITH.



## DEME LEGENDS ON ATTIC VASES.

THE interchange of typical compositions among vase-painters, by which one type frequently did duty for a variety of subjects, makes it very difficult to decide how far scenes of daily life were intended by the artist to convey a legendary significance; and this difficulty is increased by the fact that the painters were, practically at all periods, in the habit of adding mythological names at haphazard to their figures, with the object of imparting a supposititious interest to their design. This seems to have been especially the case in the period following the great compositions of Polygnotos and Mikon. Thus on a r.f. pyxis in the British Museum (E 769) we have a scene which is apparently no more than an ordinary group of women at toilet, but each of the figures has a familiar mythological name, Iphigeneia, Danae, Helene, Klytainnestra, and Kassandra.

It was formerly the custom among archaeologists to interpret every scene, no matter how commonplace, as mythological or symbolic; in the natural reaction which has set in after this, I think perhaps we may occasionally overlook the full significance of some scenes which, apparently of ordinary daily life, really have had a deeper meaning to those who made them. Take for example such subjects as occur in the sculptured pediments of temples; a warrior setting out in his chariot, or the meeting of two warriors; these scenes, which are in their local surroundings full of significance, would convey nothing to us if we had not the independent evidence of literature or of locality which explains them.

Of the vast multiplicity of deme myth and local legends which we know must have existed at Athens, very little as yet has come down to us in art. Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Mon.* (p. xxiv., &c.) has shown how it came about that when a pan-Athenian genealogy was formed the local and private cults became merged in the orthodox beliefs: but that many a deme probably cherished quietly the remembrance of a local hero who played no considerable part in the belief of the general mass. Of these private and local beliefs I think we may fairly expect to find traces in art, especially in the homely art of the vase-painter: and as an example of one instance at least I have had reproduced here (Figs. 1 and 2) what I believe is such a representation on a vase B 178 in the British Museum. It is a b.f. amphora from Vulci (old Cat. 574), of late style, probably not much earlier than 500 B.C., if so early: the design on each side is in a panel: no purple is used and only a little



white. *Obv.* In centre a youth in petasos and chlamys and carrying two spears and a shield with a Seilenos head in relief, stands beside a horse which he holds by the bridle: in front of him, a woman who caresses the horse with her left hand; at her side a dog with the leg of an animal in its mouth. On the right is an old man with white hair and beard, in his right hand a sceptre. On the *rev.*, a Dionysiac group.

The subject of this *obv.* scene might be taken as representing the ordinary 'Departure of a warrior,' if it were not for the strange adjunct of the hound, and also for the sceptre in the hand of the aged man. The hound has in its mouth the leg of an animal which it appears to be carrying, not with the intention of eating. So far as I know there is but one episode in all mythology which recalls this scene. It is that which bears upon the



FIG. 1.

origin of Kynosarges,<sup>1</sup> the sanctuary of Herakles which Pausanias i. 19. 3 describes among the monuments on the right bank of the Ilissus. 'There is also a sanctuary of Herakles, called the Kynosarges; those who read the oracle can learn the story of the white dog.' The story is told both by Hesychius and Suidas; the latter says 'Kynosarges is a place among the Athenians and a sanctuary of Herakles for this cause; Diomos the Athenian was sacrificing at the shrine<sup>2</sup>; thereupon a white dog which was by seized the sacrifice and laid it down in some place; and Diomos was much afraid.

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 203 and p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ* must mean at his own shrine or hearth, and this would imply among his own family. The absence of an altar on our vase is not a fatal objection to the proposed interpreta-

tion. The sacrificial element is sufficiently indicated by the thigh; and for the rest, the artist has been content to adopt the type of a scene of leave-taking rather than that of a sacrifice. On the Diomos legend cf. Deneken, *de Theoz.* p. 27.



But the god gave answer to him that he ought, in that spot where the sacrifice was laid down, to set up an altar of Herakles; whence it was called Kynosarges.' The statement of Hesychius is similar, except that it says that Diomos was sacrificing to Herakles, that the dog seized the thighs (τὰ μηρία), and that the place was named after the whiteness (ἐκ λευκότητος) of the dog.

As to the whiteness of the dog, it will be noticed that this is only insisted upon in the passage of Hesychius, and is evidently due to an aitiatic exposition of the termination *-argēs*. Another explanation of this element in the name was that of *swiftness*, which would equally suit the Greek form. So that we need not look upon the colour of the dog as an essential characteristic in the myth. The vague expression τὰ μηρία again



FIG. 2.

shows that the actual thigh is not an essential element. The lower portion of the leg of an animal, whether goat or other quadruped, is quite sufficiently indicative for the purpose of our artist. In an aitiatic legend it is not even necessary that any one of the elements composing the word should contain a reference to the actual truth; so that it is immaterial for our purpose whether the word *κυνος* really does (as Wachsmuth and Lang suggest) contain a reference to some forgotten primitive cult of a dog. It is sufficient for us that if this interpretation of our vase is correct, an Attic artist of about 500 B.C. represents the legend as we see it here; Diomos, the hero after whom the Attic deme Diomeia was named, is here shown in the act of setting forth to accompany the dog, and is taking leave of the aged man and the woman who no doubt are intended to represent his father and mother—the artist's method of indicating him as *ἐν ἐστίῃ*. The old white-haired man, his



father, is Kolyttos, the eponymos of the deme Kolyttos, which adjoined the deme Diomeia.

There is one peculiarity about the dress of Diomos which I am at a loss to explain; the ordinary costume of a young man departing for a journey is the chlamys and petasos which the hero wears, and such an one would be usually, as here, furnished with two spears; but so far as I know it is unusual for such a figure to have the addition of a shield; it may be that the artist of our vase was copying some well-known representation of the scene, or that he was reproducing an element in the story which has not come down to us.<sup>3</sup>

Possibly the painter of this vase was himself a member of the deme Diomeia. That vase-painters were not insensible to the attractions of their own local legends we may probably see in the partiality displayed at all periods of Attic vase-painting for subjects in which Akamas occurs. Akamas was the eponymous hero of the tribe Akamantis, which included, as we know, the potter's quarter, to which probably most of the vase-painters also belonged. Hence for instance the frequency of the occurrence among the subjects on vases of Akamas and Demophon (another eponymous tribal hero) leading back Aithra: <sup>4</sup> and in this connection it is certainly remarkable that, whereas the name of a tribe is only twice found upon vase-paintings, in each of these instances it happens to be the tribe Akamantis that is so mentioned. One of these instances is the Nolan amphora in the British Museum, which seems to allude to an agonistic victory of the tribe, where Nike stands beside a tripod, on the base of which is inscribed Γλαύκων καλός and Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐνίκᾳ φυλῇ. The other is a r.f. fragment found upon the Akropolis (*Ath. Mitth.* xiii. p. 228) which seems also to refer to some such victory, in which the name of the tribe is similarly inscribed; here also is part of a tripod, with the inscription AKAMANTIS [τίς] [cf. *Arch. Jahrb.* ii. p. 162].

The principal type of vase-paintings with this class of subject is the well-known Kodros cup in Berlin,<sup>5</sup> where the subject is composed of groups of figures intended to illustrate the legendary history of the great Attic families. It was this tendency towards genealogical inquiry which led mainly of course to the partiality which displayed itself at Athens in the latter half of the fifth century B.C. for the representation of subjects connected with Theseus, who posed as the consolidator of the Athenian polity.

It may be worth while here to recall the names of the great Attic tribes as they were at this period; Erechtheis, Aegeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oeneis, Kekropis, Hippothoöntis, Aiantis, Antiochis. Besides the

<sup>3</sup> The pupils of the eyes in this vase are roughly indicated by a faintly incised line not quite circular within the stronger engraved outline of the eye itself; this peculiarity of technique is only noticeable on the later b.f. vases, and is probably due to the influence of

the contemporary r.f. style.

<sup>4</sup> See *Athen. Mitth.* iv. 238, where we find Akamas revered in common with Zeus and Hermes.

<sup>5</sup> Baumeister, *Denkm.* p. 1999: cf. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* p. cxliii.



eponymi of the tribes, there would also be an infinity of personages connected with the divisions of the people by demes, besides the eponymous founders of the great families, and all these would have furnished subjects for the vase-painter, though the tendency would principally be confined to the half-century I have named. Thus on the Hieron kotyle we have Eumolpos seated with a sceptre among the gods, his father Poseidon being seated while Zeus in the same group is standing. On the fine r.f. krater published by Tsountas in *Εφην.* *Ἀρχ.* 1885, pl. 12 we have on one side Theseus and the Minotaur, on the reverse Pallas (the eponymos of the Pallantidae) seated among Orneus,<sup>6</sup> Nisos and Lukos, all holding sceptres. On the Kodros cup we have Theseus departing from his father Aigeus; Medeia (the Attic heroine of that name) offering him a helmet; Phorbas and Aithra. On the reverse, the departure of Aias to the Trojan War, accompanied by Melite and Menestheus; on the interior, Kodros and Ainetos. Here we have eponymi of two out of the ten tribes, Aigeis and Aiantis. Four of the eponymi are similarly found among legendary Attic heroes in the vase *Mon. Ined.* x. 39 in which Kekrops, Herse, Aglauros, Pandrosos, Erechtheus, Aigeus and Pallas occur, the main subject being the birth of Erichthonios: these figures are merely spectators, and have no part in the action going forward; Tsountas calls them (*loc. cit.* p. 223) ἀντιπρόσωπα τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ λαοῦ: in any case, they include the eponymi of three tribes, Kekropis, Erechtheis, and Aigeis.

We thus see that the habit was a familiar one at this period of representing one or more of the eponymous heroes, amid surroundings suggested by the history of these heroes or among figures borrowed from the same legendary stock. One great example of this habit has I believe hitherto escaped notice, owing to a misreading of the inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> The Meidias hydria (E 230; old Cat. 1264) in the British Museum is nearly contemporary with the Kodros cup; below the main scene (the rape of the Leukippidae) is a band of figures which has usually been accepted as representing two distinct scenes, Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides, and the second scene, which appears to have no connection with the first, being, as usually interpreted, 'a scene from the Argonautica.' Seeing that there is no tectonic division between the two scenes, the whole forming practically one continuous frieze, it seems probable that there would be some closer relation between the two scenes. The Argonautic scene is so interpreted on account of the presence of Medeia; being in Phrygian dress, she has been taken as the heroine of Kolchis; but this proves nothing, for on the Kodros cup we have already seen the Attic heroine Medeia in a similar dress, due no doubt to an assimilation of the two types. In pursuance however of this idea, the seated

<sup>6</sup> Is this possibly a misreading of ΟΙΝΕΥΣ?

<sup>7</sup> By the cleaning away of some of the restoration, other names have been recovered as follows: ΕΛΕΡΑ, ΑΡΝΙΟΠΗ (*sic*! formerly read Niobe), ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ (the T is clear),

ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝ. Arniopē is a name unknown to Pape, but is a possible etymological form (cf. Chalkiope, the wife of Aigeus in Apoll. iii. 15, 6).



kingly figure, of whose name only the first and last letters Α . . . . Ξ were read, was always identified as Α[λέτρη]ς. On a recent examination of the vase in a good light, I was able to read the missing portion of this name, which stands quite clearly as ΑΚΑΜΑΞ. We thus have in this scene, among other names more or less appropriate, no less than four eponymi of the Attic tribes, Akamas, Antiochos, Hippothoön and Oineus. Akamas, as the tribal hero of the Kerameikos, is given the pride of place, being seated as a king with a sceptre. His name suggests that of Demophon; the presence of Medeia suggests the Phrygian head-dress which is assigned to Akamas, and the presence of Philoktetes and Chrusis. Antiochos is the son of Herakles (Paus. x. 10, 1) and Oineus is the son-in-law of the same hero; this naturally takes us on into the accompanying scene in which Herakles himself figures.

The obvious connection of this style of vase-painting with the great compositions of Polygnotos and Mikon has been often pointed out. The principal scene on the Meidias vase has been referred to the influence of the painting of Polygnotos in the sanctuary of the Dioscuri (Paus. i. 18, 1) representing 'the marriage of the daughters of Leukippos.' In the same sanctuary was a companion painting by Mikon, representing the expedition under Jason against the Colchians. With this juxtaposition we may perhaps compare the insertion of the Argonautic names into our scene. The name Assterope which on the Meidias vase is given to a figure in the Hesperides scene, was moreover evidently a favourite name of Mikon. Pausanias in describing the tombs of the daughters of Pelias near Mantinea (viii. 11, 3) says no poet had given their names, as far as his knowledge of literature went, but Mikon the painter had inscribed their names over their figures as Antiope and Assteropeia.

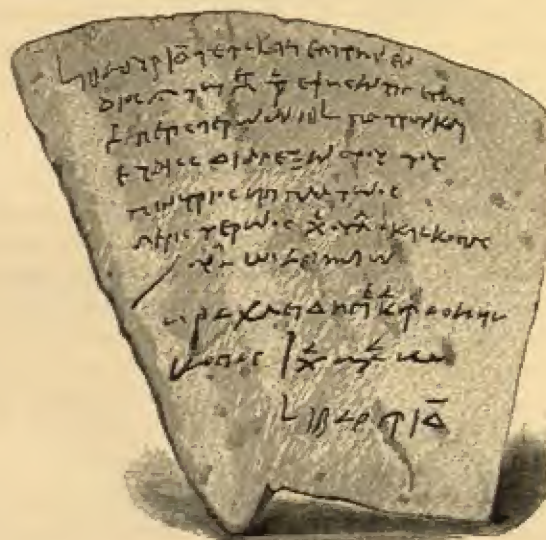
It is probably to this period that we may ascribe the statues of the eponymous heroes of Attica which Pausanias describes (i. 5, 1). At Delphi was a similar group of seven tribal eponymi, Erechtheus, Kekrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochos, Aigeus, and Akamas; which was made by Pheidias out of the spoils of Marathon (Paus. x. 10, 1). It is a pity that the topographer did not more fully describe these statues; it would be interesting to know how far the types corresponded with those of the Meidias vase.

CECIL SMITH.



ON TWO GREEK OSTRAKA FROM EGYPT,  
BELONGING TO THE THIRD CENTURY B.C. AND THE FIRST  
CENTURY A.D. RESPECTIVELY.

DURING a visit to Egypt in 1890 and 1891 I acquired the ostraka of which facsimiles are given herewith. Professor Mahaffy has deciphered the inscriptions.



The earlier ostrakon, which I bought for half a piastre (1*d.*) from a lad near Luxor, measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height by 5 in greatest breadth, narrowing to  $2\frac{1}{2}$ . Professor Mahaffy pronounces it to belong to the Ptolemaic period, and it may probably be dated as early as 235 B.C., the twelfth year of the third Ptolemy. The inscription runs as follows :—

ΛΙΒ ΔΘΥΡ ΙΔ ΤΕΤΑΚΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ

ΔΙΟΣΘ (i.e. πόλει) ΤΗΙ  $\overline{\text{M}}$  (i.e. μεγάλη)  $\frac{\pi}{\rho}$  (i.e. τράπεζαν) ΕΦ ΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΗΣ

$\frac{\pi}{\rho}$  (i.e. γραμματεὺς) ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΩΝΩΝ ΙΒΛ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ

ΕΥΒΙΟΣ ΔΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ



ΠΙΝΥΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΩΝΟΣ Χ̄ (i.e. χαλκόν?) ΟΥ Δ̄ (i.e. ἀλλαγή) ΟΚΤΑΚΟΣΙΑΣ  
/ΟΥ Δ̄ Ω ΔΘΗΝΙΩΝ (?)

[Η]ΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ Τ̄ Κ̄ Δ̄ Ρ̄ (? i.e. ἀργύρου) ΖΟΚΤΑ

ΚΟΣΙΑΣ /Χ̄ ΟΥ Δ̄ ΖΩ

LIB ΔΘΥΡ ΙΔ

The construction is obscure, but the meaning seems to be:—

'In the twelfth year on the fourteenth day of the month Athur, Patron and Eubius have paid into the bank at Diospolis the Great (i.e. Thebes), over which Antigenes is clerk of pigeon-houses, by the hands of Alexander, for the pigeon-house of Pinuris and Plato, bronze (?), current value (lit. of which the exchange is) eight hundred drachmae. Current value 800 Athenion (?) [He]racleides. Paid of silver (?) eight hundred drachmae. Bronze (?), current value £800. Year 12, Athur 14.'

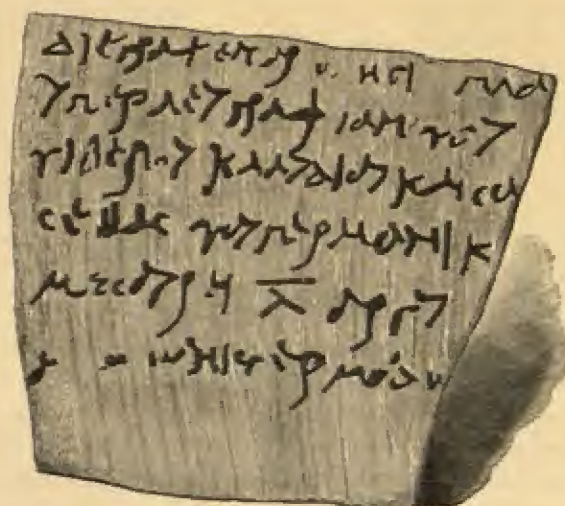
Λ is the symbol for year, Ζ for drachma.

This is one of the earliest Greek ostraka that have as yet been found in Egypt. The writing is neat and elegant, but the ink in some places is so faint as to make decipherment difficult. The word τέτακται in the first line gives the full reading of a contraction of frequent occurrence, the true explanation of which has been disputed.

The mention of a special bank official, charged with the supervision of dealings in pigeon-houses, is interesting. Pigeons are still bred in Egypt on a large scale, and the houses in which they are kept form the most striking feature of many Egyptian villages. At Biggig in the Fayoum these houses attain colossal proportions, and from a little distance look like castellated fortresses. At the present day the pigeon-houses of Luxor, which stands on the site of ancient Thebes, are remarkable for their size and number, and we may judge from the ostrakon that they were of no less importance in the third century before Christ.

I got the second ostrakon from one of the natives in the island of Elephantine. It measures  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height by 3 inches in greatest breadth, narrowing to  $2\frac{1}{4}$ . The characters are larger than on the first ostrakon, and the ink is very black. The inscription is in a bold hand, easier to read than the earlier specimen, but not so finished a piece of penmanship. Unfortunately the right hand side of the ostrakon has been chipped off, so that it is difficult to make out the full sense of the document. It is, however, of much interest, as it bears the name of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.), and is thus a dated specimen of Greek writing of the first century A.D., shortly after the time of Christ.





Professor Mahaffy decipheres the inscription as follows:—

ΔΙΕΓΡΑΨΕΝ ΑΡΠΑΗΣΙΣ ΠΛΑ[  
ΥΠΕΡ ΛΕΥΓΡΑΦΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ [\*ετους  
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑ[ρος  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚ[ου  
ΜΕΣΟΥΡΗ 30 ΑΡΓΥ[ρου \* δραχμας  
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΔ[ωρου σεσημειωται

*Λευγραφία* is probably for *λαογραφία*, and the document seems to be a receipt for a payment made by Arpaësis in excess of his proper rating.

‘Arpaësis has paid to Pla[to?] above the census for the [\* year] of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on the 30th day of the month Mesouré, of silver [\* drachmae], Ammonius Hermod[orus' son].’

The earlier ostrakon is of a very light yellow colour, almost white; the later is dark brown.

CHARLES H. KEENE.



## THE BRONZE FRAGMENTS OF THE ACROPOLIS.

[PLATES VI., VII.]

It is a misfortune almost necessarily incidental to the excavation of any site so rich in ancient remains as the Acropolis at Athens, that smaller objects and such as have a less obvious archaeological value, are sadly neglected: and the fate of the bronze fragments excavated during the seasons 1885—9 affords the strongest proof of this fact. At the time of the excavation the Greek authorities selected those objects in bronze which had any obvious archaeological interest, and placed these in the larger Museum on the Acropolis. All the other bronze remains were indiscriminately and somewhat carelessly packed in several large boxes and stored in the small Museum. The evil results of this are twofold: in the first place, owing to careless storing and the piling of heavy objects on the top of light, a large number of fragments have been further broken up; and secondly, there is absolutely no record of the place or depth at which any of these were found. How important such a record would have been, will be well realized by any student of Dr. Furtwängler's great work on the Olympia bronzes, though this same also does much to lessen the gravity of our loss. In the season 1891—2, on the suggestion of Mr. E. A. Gardner, I undertook to carry on the work of sorting and cleaning; and, thanks to the facilities afforded me by the Greek authorities, I have been enabled systematically to examine all the fragments and clean such as seemed to me most interesting. That there still remain among the immense mass of fragments a certain number, interesting for inscriptions or ornaments, which I have failed to detect, goes without saying. How far these would repay a closer examination, is questionable. As to the method employed in the cleaning I must add one word. I have examined all the fragments twice, removing the incrustations of dirt with a hard brush and a knife: those which appeared to merit a thorough cleaning were afterwards subjected to the process prescribed by the Greek Government. Without entering into chemical details I will add that the result of this extremely lengthy process is to remove the patina altogether and leave a smooth black surface: in the majority of cases this works admirably, the finest and most minute details being thus brought to light, but when the surface of the bronze itself is at all corroded the result is to destroy entirely all the traces of the pattern or inscription: consequently a careful examination is necessary before any fragment is put in the acid, to see whether it will stand the treatment. It



goes without saying also, that in the removal of the patina all that beautiful effect of colour is lost which, though perhaps it was not part of the artistic value to the Greeks, yet to the modern eye gives a very real pleasure. I have to thank M. Cavvadias and M. Leonardos, the ephor in charge of the Acropolis Museum, for their kindness and readiness in affording me every facility for the work: nor can I forget the ready help of the guardians of the Museum. For his advice generally and more especially for his valuable help in the reading of inscriptions Mr. E. A. Gardner has my warmest thanks.

The fragments of which I wish to give an account divide themselves into three main heads—inscriptions, reliefs, and smaller decorative objects and patterns.

#### A.—INSCRIPTIONS.

These are for the most part of the simplest character; still, as they are of some value to the study of Attic epigraphy, they seem to deserve publication. All of them seem to date from a period before the sack of the Acropolis by the Persians. In most cases the peculiarities in the forms of the letters are not due to any strictly epigraphical reasons but merely to the material the inscriber had to deal with. For instance, to inscribe a circle on bronze is a difficult piece of work; so recourse was had to one of two expedients, either the o's and thetas were drawn square, or a stamp was used. This latter was the more usual method adopted, principally because any bronze worker would have ready to hand a series of such circular punches ordinarily used for the concentric circles of geometrical patterns, a form of decoration which, in bronze work, appears to have lasted on at Athens till well into the sixth century B.C. These punches seem to have been of regular sizes and the inscriber would choose the one best suited to the inscription. The result was that as a rule the circle would be slightly smaller than the height of the letters, and hence we find the small circular letters appearing on bronze long after they have disappeared from inscriptions on stone. It is noticeable that this tradition of the smallness of the circle appears even on the dotted inscriptions (*e.g.* Nos. 34, 37, 38) when circular stamps were no longer used. Compasses, the use of which is so frequent on stone, do not appear to have been used in these bronze inscriptions. Another result of the difficulty of inscribing bronze is the early introduction of dotted letters, which could be formed so much more easily. Other peculiarities will occur in particular inscriptions.

1. Ἀλκ[έτης ἀνέθη]κεν. On a fragment of the top rim of a lebes. It is one of two retrograde inscriptions discovered among these fragments, the second being No. 2. The stop consisting of three circles one above the other is a simple variant from the common form of three dots (*cf.* No. 17 *etc.*).

2. ὁ δέϊνα ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρ[χὴν] [τ]ἀθηναίαι. Top rim of bowl.

3. ἀπαρχὴ τὰθη[ναίαι]. Round the upper part of a bowl. Here the *a* is remarkable as being set upside down. Probably in the first instance this would be a mere slip on the part of the engraver, who afterwards drew in the others on the same pattern.



4. Ἀθηνάαι. Round the top of a bowl. The A is remarkable for the two strokes not joining. This also preserves the less usual form Athenaa cp. No. 9.

5. Ἀθηναίαι. Round a bowl.

6. Ἀθη]νόδορο[ς ἀνέθηκε]εν τὰθ. Round a bowl. The form of Δ occurs on the Douris vases and also on another bronze inscription in the larger Acropolis Museum. A second fragment (-εν τὰθ) gives us the end of the inscription and also presents an unusual shortening of the name. The θ is of the later type.

7. Ἐπιχ]άρينو[ς ἀνέθηκεν τὰθηναίαι. From a plain bowl. The inscription is set upside down. Perhaps the Epicharinos is the same as the one whose statue by Kritios and Nesiotes was dedicated on the Acropolis (Paus. i. 23. 9).

8. Νικαττ' ἀνέθηκεν τὰθ[ηναίαι. The name Nikatta is not known.

9. Ἑρμογένη[ς] ἀνέθηκεν ἀ[παρχήν τὰθη]ναίαι.

10. ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας.

11. ἱερὰ Ἀθηναίας. The adjective here is a feminine singular, agreeing with φιάλη, understood. The form of the theta is paralleled by No. 12.

12. Δεισίθεος Εὐθύδημο[ς] ἀπαρχ[ήν] ἀνεθέτη[ν] τῇ Ἀθηναίαι. Five fragments of a bowl. The inscription is incised with an extremely fine point. The fine dotted lines are punctuation marks.

The last five bowls (8—12) may be classed together as of foreign origin. Nos. 8—11 are phialai of a type found at Olympia (Furtwängler, No. 880), at Sindschirli in Syria (now in Berlin), at Argos at the Heraeum and elsewhere on the coasts of the Mediterranean. They are probably of Phoenician origin. Fragments of a very large number of these were found on the Acropolis. No. 12 links on to these, not only in the shape of the theta, which is probably merely a coincidence, but also in the composition of the bronze, which is peculiar.

13. ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. Top rim of a bowl.

14. ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀ[θηναίας. Written the wrong way up, round the upper part of the inside of a vase.

15. ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθ[ηναίαι. Round a plain bowl.

16. ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. From a phiale.

17—20. Four handles from large bowls of a type very common on the Acropolis. The earliest of these are plain, but later they are very richly ornamented both with engraving and relief. The earliest again were nailed roughly to the bowl, the later were apparently soldered.

17. Πολυκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν ὁ κναθεὺς τὰθηναίαι. The three dots are a mark of punctuation. The earliness of this inscription is proved by the closed aspirate, referred by Schutz and Roberts to the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century: κναθεὺς seems only another form of κναφεὺς.

18. εἰλύχσαμένη δὲ κόραι. If this is the end of a pentameter, the rest of the couplet was doubtless written on the body of the bowl. On the other hand it may be the first half of a pentameter, the second half (τοῦτ' ἀνέθηκε Διὸς ?) being written on the other handle. In this case both sense and



grammar would be improved. The *κόρα* is Athene and not Persephone. The form in *a* is peculiar as it is apparently used only in lyric passages in Attic: probably it could be used in any metrical inscription.

19. *ἱερὸν εἰμι.*

20. *Θ]ρα[σ]υκλείδης ἀνέθη[κεν].*

21. *Κάπανις δεκά[τ]ην ἀνέθηκεν τάθηναίαι.* Top rim of a bowl. This is one of the earliest instances of the later theta.

22. *τάθ[η]ναίαι ἀνέθηκεν ...]ος.* Top rim of a bowl.

23—25. These inscriptions are incised on the top rims of bowls ornamented with a form of egg and dart pattern, above which is a bead and reel. They are of the same general type as that represented in Carapanos' *Dodona*, p. xlii. 1.

23. *Ἀρχῖ[νος ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.]*

24. *ὁ δεῖνα] ἀνέθηκ[ε]ν τάθηναίαι.*

25. *ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν] δεκάτην εὐχσ[άμενος].*

26. *ἱερ[ὸν κ.τ.λ.]* From a plain bowl.

27. *Ἐφ[άμιλλ[ος(?) ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.]* The letters are deep cut on the top rim of a bowl. The name is not known.

28. *Ἀνδρο[κλείδης ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.]* From the upper rim of a large lebes.

29. . . . . ?]τίων δεκάτην. From the top rim of plain bowl.

30. *ὁ δεῖνα Εὐάν]θον τάθ[η]ναίαι.* From a plain bowl. The central dot is omitted from the second *θ*.

31. *τ]άθην[αίαι.]* Top rim of a bowl.

32. *Ἀθηνα[ίας.]* Fragment from some flat object.

33. *Ἀ]θην[αίαι.]* From a plain bowl.

34—35 are the only two dotted inscriptions which retain the old form of the *θ*. They are both from plain bowls.

34. *ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέ]θηκε[ν κ.τ.λ.]*

35. *ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν] ἀπαρχήν τάθηναίαι.*

36. *ἱερὸν τῆς [Ἀθηναίας.]* From a plain bowl.

37—39. Similar plain bowls.

37. *Ἀ]θην[α]ίαι.]*

38. *Ἀ]θην[αίαι.]*

39. *Ἐ]πιγένης ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.]*

40. *ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν ἀπ]αρ[χ]ήν τάθην[αίαι.]* Top rim of a bowl of similar type to Nos. 23—25.

41. . . . . ? [Ἀθην]αίαι. From a plain bowl. The earlier letters probably contain a name, but it is not clear what it is.

42. *Πίθηκος ἀνέθηκεν.* A wheel-shaped ornament. The three dots are a punctuation mark.

43. *ἀπα]ρχήν κ.τ.λ.]* From a plain bowl.

44. *Ἀθην]αίαι.* From a plain bowl.

45. *τάθην]αίαι Δωρόθεος ἀνέθηκε[ν.]* Two fragments from a bowl similar in type to Nos. 20—25.

46—51. Fragments from helmets.

46. *ἀπὸ τῶν ...ω]ν λαβόντες.*



47. Πυ]θαγόρου.

48. ἀνέθηκα]ν ἐγ λε[ίας?

49, 50, 51. Ἀθηναίως.

52—53. Two spearheads.

52. Ἀθηναίως.

53. Ἀθηναίως M. M is probably the initial letter of the enemy from whom the spear was taken. Perhaps Μήδων: in that case the spear would be dedicated after the battle of Marathon. With this may be compared two similar spear-heads also found among these fragments, inscribed respectively A and Δ.

54. A weight. Δέκα στατήρω[ν]. The metrological importance of this weight will be discussed by Dr. Pernice in a forthcoming number of the *Mittheilungen*.

55. A small bronze plate in the lower part of which is a nail hole. Perhaps the letters mean 102 drachmae.

56. A bronze knob, perhaps a sceptre-head. The letters run round it in a spiral. Owing to the irregular arrangement and the bad condition of the bronze the inscription is very difficult to read.<sup>1</sup> It may read:

...?]όφωv μ'[ἀνέθηκε Διὸς γλαν]φώπιδι [φ]ούρη [Π]ολ[ι]ούχωι [...?]

57. A basis of a statuette which apparently represented a figure advancing.

Φειδιάδης ἀν(έ)θηκεν τὰθηναῖ.

The E is omitted by mistake in ἀνέθηκεν.

58—59. Two fragments of thin bronze. They may have come from the same object—possibly a bowl. The alphabet is Boeotian.

58. Probably part of a name φυδ]άδα[s cf. *I.G.A.* 143, Roberts, *Epig.* 223 a.

59. The first line reads ὁ δέῖνα] ἔδωκε Ἐγ[δήλω(?) For this we may find a close parallel in the rim of a cantharus inscribed in Boeotian characters Χάρεις ἔδωκε Εὐπλοίωνί με (Kirch. *Stud.* 131).

The letters of the second line probably form parts of names. The first letter seems to be an O.

60. A small shield ornamented with a Gorgoneion:

Φρυγία ἀνέθηκεν [τῇι] Ἀθ[η]ναίαι ἡ ἀρτ[ο]πώλις.

The three dots as usual are the sign of punctuation.

61. ...]τίου νῦνς. This is inscribed on a fragment from a large bowl. νῦνς is a form of the accusative plural of νίος found in Crete (*Gortyn*, iv. 40, v. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup> p. 346). This inscription however has not Cretan forms: so it will be safest to attribute it to Argos, where we find forms such as τάνς, v. Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 348. The ν form is not known in Argive, but that is not a serious objection to the attribution.

<sup>1</sup> [A revised drawing received from Mr. first gap should be longer than it is made in  
Rather too late for insertion shows that the the plate.—EDU.]



62, 63, 64<sup>a</sup> and 64<sup>b</sup> are to be classed together. All of them bear inscriptions apparently Boeotian in origin; and, while none of them are entirely intelligible, they all have certain peculiarities in common, more especially the recurrence of dative forms, perhaps after the preposition *ἐπὶ*. To hazard an interpretation, they may be bowls or tripods deposited by private people, who used the Acropolis treasury as a bank. Then the datives after *ἐπὶ* may be the names of the *ταμίαι*, into whose charge they were given. Another possibility is that these were bowls set as prizes at funeral games, an institution which may have lasted on from Homeric days; cf. *Od.* xxiv. 91 *οἱ ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλές ἄεθλα*. Tripods and lebetes seem to have been some of the most valued prizes; cf. *Il.* xxiii. 702 and *passim*.

62. *Τῶν ἐπ[ὶ Λ]αμσιδαί [ἄθλων (?) ὁ δεῖνα κα]τέθ(η)κεν*. The *a* before the *μ* is certain and our choice lies between reading *ἐπὶ Λαμψίδαί* or something like *ἐπὶ βάμ(α)σι δαιδ[αλέοις κ.τ.λ.]*. A comparison with the other inscriptions favours the former.

63. This is almost hopeless. The first line I will not attempt to explain. As to the second, here again we seem to have a succession of datives. Perhaps:

*ἐπὶ Ἀρχε[μωρί (?) καὶ χί<χι>δαί κα[ὶ*

The inscription is written on very thin bronze and in its present state it is a hopelessly crumpled fragment, and it is impossible to be sure whether many of the marks are letters or fractures. Thus the first *ι* may well be a fracture. The repetition of *χι* is obviously a mistake: but it is difficult to discover what was the name of the father of Archemoros.

64<sup>a, b</sup>. Three fragments from a large lebes, round which run two inscriptions, which differ in the method by which they are incised, in the forms of the letters, more especially the *π* and probably the *ς*, and finally in the dialect, the upper inscription having the Ionic —*οπίδης*. The upper inscription must then be of some Chalcidian provenience: the lower one is certainly Boeotian. Over part of the upper one two heavy iron handles were nailed, perhaps at the time of the second inscription, but more probably later. To attempt a restoration of the whole would be useless, but I should suggest something like the following:

*Τῶν ἐκ ...κελα[...? ὃν κατέθηκε Πελ]οπίδης εἰμι*

The two parallel lines after *οπίδης* and perhaps two after *ἐκ* are punctuation marks. Then the second and smaller inscription begins with

*ἐπ[ὶ] Ῥαχσιάδαι Πυθίων με[κατέθηκεν . . .] Λανπείδου Σθενίδαί.*

In the upper inscription the form of *ς* is unfortunately uncertain, but is probably the ordinary Chalcidian three-stroke letter. The form of *π* in the second inscription is well known in the Boeotian alphabet (*e.g.* Roberts, No. 198). If we adopt the second of our two suggestions as to the meaning of these vases, Sthenidas must be the name of the winner.

65. A small fragment of very thin bronze with remains of four forms from the Cypriote syllabary. They are not enough to transliterate into



any intelligible Greek, but it is interesting to find the fragment on the Acropolis.

I have made no attempt to fix a date for any of these inscriptions. Many of them have none of the test letters which would give us the clue. Classing them roughly however according to Schutz, Nos. 17 and 56 would be the earliest, dating from about the end of the seventh century. Next come Nos. 1, 2, 3, 18 and 57 from the first quarter of the sixth century. Of the rest we can only say that those with the earlier form of  $\theta$  date from before about 510 B.C., while all of them must date from before the destruction of Athens by the Persians. Many of the ordinary criteria, by which we should judge of the dates of inscriptions, do not hold good in these roughly written dedications.

Of the dates of the non-Attic inscriptions little can be definitely stated. All those in the Boeotian dialect seem to belong to the earliest known period of the Alphabet. The closed form of the aspirate and the digamma in No. 63, the *βουστροφηδόν* writing of 59, and the older  $\theta$  form in all the inscriptions point to a date probably early in the sixth century. There is no certain means of dating the Chalcidian or Cypriote inscriptions.

A. G. BATHER.



## AURAE.

## THE XANTHIAN HEROON AND AN ATTIC ASTRAGALOS.

It is a generally accepted opinion that the marble figures<sup>1</sup> which adorned the intercolumniations of the most magnificent amongst the Xanthian sepulchral monuments, now in the British Museum, represent the chorus of the Nereids, though there is as general a discord amongst those who have treated the question as to the meaning of their presence there.<sup>2</sup> This seems a sufficient reason for questioning the accepted theory.

Let us state in a few words the subject: young maidens, clad in the thinnest garments, sailing by aid of their mantles<sup>3</sup> over sea and shore, indicated by a fish, a dolphin, a waterfowl, a crab and a shell. They do not soar as high as the Nike of Paionios, who leaves the eagle beneath her in her flight, but they hover over the water without touching it, as is especially to be seen by the swimming waterfowl beneath one of them.

This is hardly a fit motive for the daughters of Nereus, the spirits of the waves, who, forming part of the sea, cannot be represented as hovering above their element, and are accordingly, as a rule, either thought of as playing on the shore or seen riding across the deep on the monsters of the ocean.

It seems evident that the element of these maidens is the air that blows over the water, and if they are not winged, like the other divine creatures that people mid-air such as Eos, or Iris, or Boreas, with his mighty wings, and the other gods of the winds, it is because they cannot fly up to the clouds but are confined to the surface of sea or land. One thinks naturally of the breezes, the *Auræ*, and this guess is confirmed by Pliny, who describes two marble statues of the *Auræ* as sailing by aid of their garments, *duaeque Auræ velificantes sua veste*.<sup>4</sup>

Pliny mentions these marbles, that were in the *Curia* of Octavia, together with others, as pleasing though by an unknown author, *sine auctoribus placent*. Most of these works, if not all, are from the end of the fifth or from the fourth century, and it is quite possible of course that the Roman *Auræ* were the originals after which the Xanthian figures were composed;

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. pl. xi. i.-xii. Brunn, *Denkmäler*, 211, 212, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Geschichte der Plastik*,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 155-6.

<sup>3</sup> Friederichs-Wolters, *Bassteine*, p. 314, die Mäntel, welche die Mädchen halten, hauchen sich hinter ihnen wie Segel auf.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. § 29.



but as there are eighteen intercolumniations of the monument, and the fragments of only twelve statues have been found, it is not impossible that the two best examples were carried off in Roman times to adorn the capital.

Prof. Furtwängler<sup>5</sup> has shown the close connection with the Nike of Paionios and the *akroteria* of Delos, the rape of Oreithuia by Boreas, and of Kephalos by Eos, and I should not have much to add to his exposition were it not that the dates he gives can hardly now be maintained.

As we can no longer accept Paionios as the author of the east pediment at Olympia, we have not a single reason to date his Nike so high, and we appreciate better the indications of style which show it to be later than the Parthenon and dedicated probably about the ninetieth Olympiad, 420 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

The Delian sculptures too may be of the same period,<sup>7</sup> but might equally well be posterior to the battle of Knidus in 394 B.C. when Athens once more was master of Delos.

The comparison of the Xanthian frieze with that of the Nike temple at Athens points to the time of the Nike at the earliest, as Dr. Wolters<sup>8</sup> has shown this to be posterior to the *propylaea* of Mnesikles (437—432 B.C.).

This date is modified by the close likeness of the Xanthian capitals to those of the Erechtheion,<sup>9</sup> the building of which was re-taken in hand in the years 408 and 407 B.C.

In fact Prof. Furtwängler is right in recognizing the influence of the great painters of the fifth century in the bas-reliefs. There is, for example, nowhere a better illustration of the Butes of Mikon, whose eye and helmet only were visible, than in the numerous besieged warriors of the second bas-relief (*h, p, q, r, t, u*). It is however probable that this influence lasted a considerable time, as it seems that elements of later date cannot be overlooked.

The second frieze contains a battle scene (*a—g*) that corresponds exactly to the description given by Pausanias of the picture of the battle of Oinoe<sup>10</sup>: αὕτη δὲ ἡ στοὰ πρῶτα μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἔχει τεταγμένους ἐν Οἰνόῃ τῆς Ἀργείας ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων, γέγραπται δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἀκμὴν ἀγῶνος οὐδὲ τολμημάτων ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τὸ ἔργον ἤδη προήκον, ἀλλὰ ἀρχομένη τε ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι συνιόντες, and though the principal element, the scheme of two opposed lines of battle, already occurs at Trysa,<sup>11</sup> the coincidence is too strong to be fortuitous. Prof. Robert<sup>12</sup> has attempted in vain to assign an earlier date to this battle, and Prof. Wachsmuth<sup>13</sup> has proved further that this event must be placed in the Korinthian war either with Prof. Koehler<sup>14</sup> in 394 B.C. or rather with Ulrichs<sup>15</sup> in 392 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, p. 335 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Friederichs-Wolters, *Bausteine*, p. 219.

<sup>7</sup> Furtwängler, *l. l.* p. 363.

<sup>8</sup> *Bonner Studien*, p. 92 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Puchstein, *das Ionische Kapitel*, p. 27 and 28. According to Dr. Puchstein, there is no necessity for the Xanthian capital to be an imitation of the Attic, as both may be derived from earlier Ionic examples. Such is however

the similitude that it goes near to proving a direct connection.

<sup>10</sup> *l. l.* 1.

<sup>11</sup> Beudorf, *Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, xii. A 10, 11.

<sup>12</sup> *Hermes*, 1890, p. 412 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Stadt Athen*, ii. p. 517 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Hermes*, v. p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 1854, vol. 69, p. 380 ff.



If however this date be controvertible, a still later date is proved by the following considerations:—

One of the smaller friezes (ix. x.) gives the first example, so far as I know, of a combat of horsemen against horsemen; now the first mentions made of a horse-fight in painting are an episode of the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C.<sup>16</sup> by Euphranor, and the victorious charge of Charon before the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. by Androkydes, which picture is said to have been painted so early as 379 B.C., and to have been inscribed with new names on that event, in contempt of Pelopidas and Epaminondas who were originally intended.<sup>17</sup>

If, as I suspect, we may find an allusion to the picture of Euphranor in the words of Nikias recorded by Demetrius Phalereus<sup>18</sup>—*ἵππομαχίας—ἐνθα πολλὰ μὲν σχήματα δείξειεν ἂν τις ἵππων, τῶν μὲν θεόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνθισταμένων, ἄλλων δὲ ὀκλαζόντων, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀκοντίζοντας, πολλοὺς δὲ καταπίπτοντας τῶν ἱππέων*, it is most probable that the so much poorer Xanthian composition is anterior to Euphranor and posterior only to the work of Androkydes.

And this date is strongly confirmed by the discovery of paintings in the *lacunaria* of the Heroon, as we know from Pliny<sup>19</sup> that Pausias was the first to paint these, *lacunaria primus pingere instituit*.<sup>20</sup> That is to say, our investigation has brought us back insensibly to the exact time of Perikles the Lykian king, whose date is pretty well fixed by his mention in Theopompus and by his coins to not much before 374 B.C. and not after 362 B.C.<sup>21</sup> And after all nothing is more likely than that this Heroon is his tomb, even if we have no right to explain the whole second bas-relief as the siege of Telmessos.<sup>22</sup>

The long duration of time elapsed between the Nike of Paionios and these figures so like in style is less astonishing in the beginning of the fourth century than it would be in the fifth or the latter half of the fourth: thus the rider of the Mausoleum and the Nike of Samothrake, though the first is from about 351 and the latter between 307 and 304 B.C., are decidedly more nearly allied.

There remains the question as to the intention of the artist in surrounding the tomb by a chorus of Auræ. Here Michaelis<sup>23</sup> has unwittingly shown the way. Wishing to prove that the Nereids may be thought of as surrounding the Island of the Blessed, the abode of the occupants of the tomb, he cites Pindar's<sup>24</sup> words about the breezes of the Ocean that blow around that island: *μακάρων νῆσος ὠκεανίδες Αὔραι*

<sup>16</sup> Pausanias, i. 3. 4; Plutarch, *d. Glor. Athen.* 2.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, *Pelop.* 25. 7-9.

<sup>18</sup> *De Elocut.* 76.

<sup>19</sup> *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 124.

<sup>20</sup> I have no further information about these paintings than from a short notice in a letter from my friend Dr. Franz Winter, who men-

tions expressly a head *en face*.

<sup>21</sup> J. P. Six, *Monnaies Lyciennes*, p. 76, *Revue Numismatique*, 1887.

<sup>22</sup> Friederichs-Wolters, *Bausteine*, p. 311 and 315.

<sup>23</sup> *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1875, p. 181.

<sup>24</sup> *Olympionike*, li. 70.



περιπλέουσιν. The interpretation of Michaelis, so long as the Nereids were in question, was overstrained, and has not I think been accepted. Now that the Aurae take their place, there can no longer be any reason to doubt that he was right in the main.

Need it be said that in the burning clime of Xanthus none of the felicities of this isle would be more acceptable and more readily understood?

Only one other monument has come to my notice, well enough preserved to be compared here. It is an *astragalos* found at Aegina, published by Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, Pl. XXIII.<sup>25</sup> It is now in the British Museum (E 783) and of such rare beauty of design that it deserves a better publication than that of Stackelberg.

It is, no doubt, the work of one of the best Attic potters and vase-painters of the middle of the fifth century B.C.

On three sides of this *astragalos* are painted a chorus of ten maidens in groups, three, three and four, floating through the air, several of them sailing by the aid of their garments, *Auræ velificantes sua veste*. I hope this interpretation will have no difficulty in superseding that of Stackelberg<sup>26</sup> who calls the figures Hyades and Pleiades, without much apparent reason.<sup>27</sup>

The sprig in the hand of one of them (p. 135 Fig. 1) is a fit attribute for those who caress the flowers as Catullus<sup>28</sup> says, *flos . . . quem mulcent auræ*.

The greater is the difficulty with the principal design (p. 135 Fig. 2). If the *astragalos*, which is, like the basis found at Olympia,<sup>29</sup> from a left foot,<sup>30</sup> stands on the side called *ὑπὲρ* (Stackelberg, 6), the side called *παρῆς* (5) is turned upward with three Auræ (4), three (3) occupy the short side beneath their feet and the four others (Stackelberg's 2, our Fig. 1) are to be seen at their back on the side called *κῶρον*, that on which it stands in the best throw. The side called *χῶρον* (1 and 5 and 6, our Fig. 2) then shows to the left an opening which gives the effect of a hole, from which the man before it has just issued. This extremely vulgar fellow, with upturned nose and shaggy beard, a piece of cloth about his loins and legs, stands with bent knees and outstretched arms as if ready to spring upon his prey. And as such are advancing, not in terror but in curiosity, three women who come dancing along in the scheme of the Charites; the first and the

<sup>25</sup> Also, partially, in Schreiber's *Kulturhistorischer Bilderatlas*, Part I. Pl. xx. nos. 6 and 7. [Mr. van Branteghem has had the *astragalos* drawn for an adequate publication in colour. From this drawing, by his kind permission, our two cuts are taken.—EDD.]

<sup>26</sup> *l. l.* p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> The British Museum contains some fragments, D 60, with a similar motive and in the same style, of floating maidens, amongst whom are seen the legs of a man with striped shoes. These are red-figured, and occupy the outside of a cup the inside of which has on a white ground

a young man with black *chlamys* and *petasos*, charging with his lance, not unlike the Glaukon of a *lekkythos* from Eretria (Klein, *Liebblingsinschriften*, p. 81, no. 13; *Jahrbuch*, ii. p. 163). The  $\Lambda$  which remains of the inscription claims to be completed into  $\Lambda(\text{LAYKONKALOS})$ .

<sup>28</sup> *l. xii.* 39–41.

<sup>29</sup> Benndorf, *Festgabe für Anton Springer; Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iii. Pl. xvi. 6. 2.

<sup>30</sup> I am told that this too must be an *astragalos* of some species of cattle, but it seems the forms are somewhat schematic and cannot be assigned to any particular species.





FIG. 1.



FIG. 2



third stretch their necks the better to see, the second turns her bent head with raised eyes as if making a malicious observation to the third. It seems evident that they are intruding upon the solitude of the troglodyte, whose intention may rather be to frighten than to harm.

I am sorry to say that I am unable to explain this scene and to assign the proper names, no doubt mythic, to the actors, although some connection with the shape of the vase is not improbable; the Auræ at least are a fit ornament for an astragalos as they symbolize quite well its playful, light and unsteady character.

A similar connection might be found with the Charites, as an astragalos was in the hand of one of them as an attribute at Olympia,<sup>31</sup> but this does not explain the scene.

On the other hand, as the third woman is only half visible, cut off by the edge, one might be induced to think of the scene as occurring inside the grotto and of the women as its occupants, and so as Nymphs, and of the man as an intruder. His attitude may express fear, as may be seen by a comparison with the Thersites of Trysa,<sup>32</sup> but I know not how far this will go to account for the outstretched arms. According to Darwin,<sup>33</sup> there is some affinity between the expression of fear and the position for attack. We should in this case have to recognize some *nympholeptos*, of course no beautiful boy like Hylas or Bromos, nor an ordinary mortal like Archidemos of Thera, who finished the grotto of the Nymphs at Vari, but rather a prophet like Bakis, whose extasy may have been full of horror.

Now, let this be as it may, our ignorance about the principal subject cannot affect our identification of the Auræ.

Just as the water-carrying maidens in the Nekyia of Polygnotos<sup>34</sup> must have stood to the winged *eidola* that pour water into the *pithos* on the Cyrenaic Hades-vase,<sup>35</sup> so stand the Auræ of this astragalos to the winged breezes that hover about Kyrene on the cup from Naukratis.<sup>36</sup> And if Studniczka<sup>37</sup> is right—as why should he not be?—in calling these Harpyiae, we find a precedent and analogy to the Heroon of Xanthus in another Xanthian monument, namely the Harpy-tomb.

And as the Auræ, though corresponding to the softer side only of the double-natured Harpies, cannot fulfil all their functions, the rape of the daughters of Leukippos crowned the pediments of the Heroon on both sides as an akroterion, symbolical of death.

It is still the influence of Polygnotus that works here, whose symbolism hates all unnatural combination of human and animal forms, but rests content with an object or an action hinting at the intended meaning.

J. SIX.

AMSTERDAM, December, 1892.

<sup>31</sup> Pausanias, vi. 44. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Benndorf, *das Heroon von Gjelbaschi-Trysa*, Pl. ix. B. 2

<sup>33</sup> Darwin, *Expression of Emotions*, p. 308.

<sup>34</sup> Pausanias, x. 31. 9 and 11.

<sup>35</sup> Munich no. 153 Inghirami, *Vasi fitt.* ii. 135, Baumeister, p. 1924, fig. 2040.

<sup>36</sup> Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 18 fig. 10.

<sup>37</sup> *l. l.* p. 25 ff.

## TITHONUS ON A RED-FIGURED VASE.

THE vase now published is a Nolan amphora (height, 14½ inches). It was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum from Castellani, and is No. 275 in the published catalogue of Ashmolean vases. As however it is unfortunately not engraved in that catalogue, I give here a sketch by Mr. F. Anderson of the two sides.



On one side is Eos, clad in chiton, winged, running r. with outstretched arms: on the other side is Tithonus standing l., bald but for a thin line of hairs, and leaning on staff. Under the figures is a line of maeander pattern. An E is scratched beneath the foot.

The date of the vase is about the middle of the fifth century, or a little later. Its main interest lies in its subject, the love of Eos and Tithonus being almost unrepresented in ancient art. Eos appears frequently on vases



pursuing or carrying off young men: her pursuit of Cephalus is an ordinary motive in art:<sup>1</sup> but the artists avoid Tithonus, either because he is unfamiliar to them, or perhaps with the usual Greek dislike for the incongruous and undignified.

The myth of Tithonus is too well known to need repetition, especially since Tennyson has enshrined it in one of the most gorgeous of his poems. In Homer Tithonus is the husband of Eos; and in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (l. 218) the whole story is told, from the carrying off of Tithonus as a beauteous youth to his seclusion in old age in a hidden chamber. His transmutation in extreme age into a grasshopper has been regarded as a late addition to the story: but no doubt many modern anthropologists would take their start from it in the explanation of the myth, regarding the grasshopper as a totem. I know indeed of no other explanation which can be called plausible. The story is obviously closely akin to the folk-lore of American and Australian aborigines, though it has redeeming Hellenic touches.

The selection and grouping of figures on Nolan amphorae is seldom very careful or suggestive. But in the present case, probably only by a happy accident, the meaning is clear and well expressed. On one side of the vase is the goddess, still affectionate as in past days; unless indeed we are to regard her attitude of ardour as a merely conventional expression of her normal relation to Tithonus. On the other side is the aged Tithonus, no longer able to respond to her passion, 'a white-haired shadow, roaming like a dream.' On the vase his age is not made excessive, but he is certainly no longer, according to Greek notions, a fit consort for a winged goddess. He does not fly from the goddess, nor does he welcome her approach; his age of passion is passed, and the longing for death is coming upon him.

So far as I am aware, the only representations of scenes from the Tithonus myth are on one or two specimens of Etruscan metal work, where Tithonus is represented as a youth<sup>2</sup>, or as an old man lying on a couch.<sup>3</sup> The source of these representations is in all probability, like that of the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, Ionian: on Attic vases from the fifth century onwards it is Cephalus who is the object of the passion of Eos.<sup>4</sup> Our vase however belongs to a class regarded as Attic, and is on that account more interesting. And although the treatment may fairly be considered somewhat conventional, yet the myth of Tithonus is so celebrated and so interesting that even a conventional representation of it is worthy of some attention.

PERCY GARDNER.

<sup>1</sup> See Roscher or Baumeister, s.v. Eos.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard, *Etrus. Spiegel*, Plate 232.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard, *Gesam. Akad. Abhandl.*, Plate VIII. 4. The aged man who sometimes appears (as in Luynes, *Vases*, pl. 35) in the scenes where Eos approaches a youth with a lyre, is

no doubt not Tithonus, but a pedagogue. He is wanting in the dignity which marks the male figure on our vase.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fortwängler in *Arch. Zeit.* 40, (1883), p. 350.



## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1892.

THE chief interest of the excavations that have taken place in 1892 is associated, directly or indirectly, with Delphi. The French School, under M. Homolle's direction, has now actually begun systematic work upon the site, which will probably continue for many years, and which is certain to yield results of the highest importance. Indirectly, also, the charm of Delphi has led to discoveries of the most valuable kind during the past season. The American School had, owing to the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Waldstein, raised a large sum of money with a view to the excavation of the site; and when the French School succeeded after all in establishing its claim to Delphi, the Americans turned their energies and their resources into another channel; their excavations at the Heraeum near Argos have realized the expectations that so promising a site could not fail to raise. One head, in particular, is a most valuable addition to the known monuments of the very finest period of Greek sculpture, whatever may be the ultimate decision of experts as to its exact position in the history of art.

I will, as before, begin my description of the year's excavation with Athens and Attica, and then go on to speak of what has been done both by the Government Department of Antiquities, the Greek Archaeological Society, and the Foreign Schools, in various parts of Greece. Finally, I will describe the progress made in the arrangement, cleaning, and cataloguing of antiquities in the Museums of Athens. In Athens the most interesting event of the past season has been Dr. Dörpfeld's attempt to put to the practical test of excavation his theories as to the Athenian agora, and in particular as to the position of the Enneacrurnos. This is an experiment upon which more depends than the single fact—important enough in itself—which is under investigation, since the result must affect the view to be taken of Dr. Dörpfeld's system of interpreting Pausanias, and his success in this instance would create a strong impression in favour of his general theory, in addition to proving it to be right in the case of the Enneacrurnos and the neighbouring buildings. Pausanias, as is well known, mentions this spring after certain buildings which were certainly in the agora, and after it he goes on to describe other buildings which were also certainly in the agora. There is, on the other hand, evidence from ancient authors which appears to many authorities to prove that Enneacrurnos was always identical with Callirrhoe, which certainly was in later times situated where the well-known ledge of rock crosses



the bed of the Ilissus. As it is impossible to suppose that the agora as described by Pausanias was anywhere near this Callirrhoe, two possible explanations have been given—either that Pausanias for some reason makes a digression in the middle of his description of the agora, breaking in upon his regular topographical order (the so-called Enneacrunos episode), or that there was another Enneacrunos (identical with an earlier Callirrhoe) somewhere near the agora. Dr. Dörpfeld is now the great champion of the latter view; and since he places the agora of Pausanias between the Theseum and the Pnyx, the Enneacrunos had to be sought for between the Pnyx and the Areopagus.

Here accordingly excavations were begun in the spring of 1892,<sup>1</sup> close to the modern road, at the point nearest to the Areopagus, where the road leading to the Observatory (Hill of the Nymphs) branches off. This point seemed the most promising because a rock-cut channel, which has long been visible, runs along the Pnyx hill just above the modern road, and appears to lead in this direction. The first trial laid bare an ancient road, bordered with polygonal walls, leading up a considerable incline from beneath the front of the Pnyx toward the Acropolis; otherwise nothing was found but cisterns and other buildings of Roman or later times. The ancient road was then followed up; it passed under the modern road and then turned so as to run nearly parallel to it, away from the foot of the Areopagus, preserving still a similar incline. Dr. Dörpfeld believes that this road, from its direction and slope, must be the main road leading up from the agora to the Acropolis. In its present state it is much cumbered by buildings of Roman or later date, which are ranged along it; but foundations of the earlier walls that bounded it are also visible. It appears at first sight very narrow (it is 12 to 15 feet broad) for so important a thoroughfare, but this is perhaps no fatal objection. Beside this road, on the west, is a curious miniature sanctuary, belonging apparently to the sixth century; it is bounded by two stones, each inscribed  $\text{HOPOS}$ , and contains a tiny  $\Pi$ -shaped shrine with a round altar in front of it. This was already buried in the fourth century, and above it stood a lesche, again identified by boundary stones with  $\delta\text{ρος λέσσης}$ . This lesche runs back beneath the modern road, as do also the other buildings on the same side, which therefore could not be completely cleared. Above it—that is, to the south of it—on the same side of the road, is a private house, with records of two mortgages (in characters of the fourth century B.C.) inscribed on its outer wall.<sup>2</sup> This must have been a most satisfactory kind of document for the mortgagee; but one may well imagine that it was a rather distressing reminder to the owner of the house, especially if he were also its occupant. Beneath the middle of the road ran a rough earthenware channel for water, big enough for a man to pass along; and this not only has well-like openings at frequent intervals in the road above, but also receives into

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Dörpfeld's account of his discoveries, *Mittheilungen*, 1892, p. 90 *sqq.* and *Funde passim*.

<sup>2</sup>  $\delta\text{ρος οίκίας ὑποκειμένης Χ. Περιάνδρῳ Χολαργ. (γεί) and ὅρος οίκίας ὑποκειμένης Ἀλαϊεύσι: HH. see 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, 1892, p. 1.$



itself many smaller channels, mostly running from the side of the Pnyx. It cannot however have served as an aqueduct of pure water, though its construction seems to imply that it carried an overflow of good water rather than mere drainage. As to the rock-cut aqueduct and its purpose nothing definite was ascertained in the Spring, and the excavations, however interesting, had led to no clear topographical results. They were accordingly resumed in the Autumn, farther up the same ancient road, and almost opposite the entrance to the Propylaea. Here Dr. Dörpfeld considers that he has at last really found the Enneacrunos. Instead of either accepting or rejecting this opinion, it seems best to give a brief summary of the evidence in its favour. This evidence depends mostly on the water-channels already mentioned. At the place which the latest diggings have laid bare there are traces of a great cistern, partly cut in the rock of the Pnyx hill, and extending thence right across under the modern road; this cistern has been altered in level and size at various times; its overflow was carried off by a large channel which leads into the channel beneath the ancient road. It was supplied in early times by a conduit made of beautifully finished tiles, probably of sixth century style. In later times a great portion of the water carried by this conduit was diverted, and ran along the rock-cut channel before mentioned, visible farther on to the north, above the modern road; but this part of the channel, beyond the original cistern, appears from its manner of cutting and from the built portions where it is led outside the rock to be of Roman times. On the other hand a portion of the conduit above the cistern is beautifully constructed of large blocks of rough limestone (poros), and is apparently of early Greek work: this aqueduct had previously been traced past the Theatre of Dionysus and under the Palace Garden; it leads from the upper Ilissus. Dr. Dörpfeld believes this aqueduct and the extensive reservoir in which it ended to be a part of the improvement and decoration by Pisistratus of the old Callirrhoe, which thereupon changed its name to Enneacrunos; and it must be admitted that what he has found certainly does tend to prove that his view is right; but on the other hand no evidence has yet appeared so certain as to convince those who are committed to a contrary opinion, especially since they may argue that Dr. Dörpfeld's Enneacrunos is now at some distance from his agora, and that we are not told of Pisistratus making an aqueduct and reservoir, but only of his building an ornamental outlet to an existing spring. It should be added that a block of Carrá stone—the favourite material in the time of the tyrants—has been found in the excavations, though not *in situ*.

There are some other indications, of quite recent discovery. Several channels exist, running out of the rock of the Pnyx, and there are various cisterns, early disused, to contain the water they produced. Several wells, full of fragments of pottery earlier than the time of Pisistratus, and therefore disused and filled up about his time, seem to imply that the need for their use ceased then. And, above all, some stones have been discovered (one of Carrá limestone) with cuttings in them and deposits on them of such a nature



that they must come from some building connected with a water supply, one of them from its front, out of which water ran. It is thus proved that there existed in this region an early aqueduct, probably ending in a building for the distribution of the water. Whether this was the Enneacrunos or not still depends on the evidence before known and disputed by various authorities, but it is certainly proved that there was in this position a system of water supply which corresponds remarkably with what we know of the history of that fountain. On the other side of the ancient road, towards the Acropolis; some further discoveries have been made; if these should lead to the identification of a site, such as the Eleusinion, which is known to have been near the Enneacrunos, the question might be thus decided. Hitherto the only shrine identified is a precinct of Asclepius, which has yielded some interesting reliefs and inscriptions. Near this, in a large precinct bounded by a polygonal wall, were some graves of early period, one containing a vase of Mycenae type. The corpse seems to have been burnt above the grave, into which it was allow to fall with the ashes of the pyre. I have given a somewhat detailed account of these excavations, because they have been looked forward to with great interest, and their results are of very high importance for Athenian topography; it is to be hoped that these will prove even more decisive before the work is finished. But I cannot close this description without acknowledging the courtesy of Dr. Dörpfeld in pointing out and explaining his discoveries. But for his masterly and lucid interpretation of the very complicated and various material that he has unearthed, the present account could not have been written.

The new cutting for the Piraeus railway, which runs parallel to the Hermes Street from the old station to the end of the Athena Street, under which it continues to the Place de la Concorde (*Ὁμόνοια*), has this year as last brought to light some interesting discoveries, especially in the district north of the Theseum, where last season the inscriptions were found identifying the site as the Temenos of Demos and the Charites.<sup>3</sup> A large square altar, belonging to this temenos, has been found *in situ*, and transported to the National Museum, where it is now exhibited. It is raised upon two steps, which project beyond it on one side, to offer a platform for the sacrificer to stand on; at each side of the top is a volute, and on the side away from the projecting steps facing north is the inscription:<sup>4</sup>

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος ἀνέθηκεν | Ἀφροδίτῃ ἡγεμόνῃ τοῦ δήμου  
καὶ Χάρισιν, | ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μικίωνος τοῦ Εὐρυκλείδου Κηφισιέως, | στρατη-  
γούντος ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν Θεοβούλου Θεοφάνου Πειραιέως.

The names, as Dr. Lolling points out, date the altar to the last third of the third century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> See *J.H.S.* 1891, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 1891, p. 127.  
My numerous references indicate but insuffi-

ently my indebtedness to this publication for many of the facts and opinions contained in my report



In the same region was also found a dedication of the statues of certain Thriasians, including Apollonides; the artists' signature <sup>6</sup> is:

Καίκοσθένης Δίης Θριάσιοι ἐπόησαν.

The father of these artists, Apollonides,<sup>6</sup> was probably identical with the one here mentioned, and their Demotic must be corrected elsewhere<sup>7</sup> from Phylasii to Thriasii. This new inscription makes it probable that after all the artists of Löwy 113—117 and 220 are identical, in spite of the difference of character in their inscriptions. In the same region has also been found a stela, once set up in the Stoa of Zeus Soter (or Eleutherios), which must therefore be looked for near. The stela is headed by a relief of Athena Zeus Soter, and Euphron, and the inscription refers to Euphron, son of Adeas, of Sicyon, who came as an envoy to Athens before the Lamian war. It has considerable historical interest.<sup>8</sup>

The exploration of the ancient cemetery in the outer Ceramicus has been continued without any very striking results; most of the tombs found have been of later periods. A record of the systematic excavation of this cemetery, and especially of the earlier graves from the Dipylon period down, is promised by Dr. Brückner and Dr. Pernice of the German School, who watched the diggings; this report cannot fail to be very interesting and instructive, especially considering the scarcity of such records for Greece.

At the Piræus, beside some Roman mosaics, one of a head of Medusa, there has been found a boundary stone with the inscription ὁρμού δημοσίου ὁρος; this was found in a hollow of the rock above the sea, north of the hospital. Thus another is added to the inscribed boundary stones which help us to understand the topography of the Piræus.

The Greek Archaeological Society has made some excavations in the pass of Daphne, to discover the Sacred Way and the shrines or other monuments that once bordered it. Within the monastery and in its immediate neighbourhood nothing considerable has been found, with the exception of some tomb enclosures, and some statues and reliefs; some of these seem to represent Aphrodite, Eros, and other divinities of the same cycle. The results have been more interesting near the rock cut with niches and inscriptions, that has long been known as a sacred precinct of Aphrodite. A temenos wall surrounds the space immediately in front of this rock, and within it were found various votive offerings to Aphrodite of the usual types. On the other side of the Sacred Way a large building with walls of polygonal masonry has been cleared; this is doubtless the τεῖχος ἀργῶν λίθων θέας ἀξίον which Pausanias saw in front of the temple of Aphrodite, though we have no more clue than he had to the purpose which it served. The Sacred Way itself is clearly visible between the two walls; and beside it stands a milestone of Roman period, a headless herm, with the inscription ζ' ἐξ ἄσπεως.

<sup>6</sup> Δελφικόν, 1891, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> Löwy, 220.

<sup>8</sup> See Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildhauer*, No. 117.

<sup>8</sup> See Δελφικόν, 1892, p. 56.



At Rhamnus some further progress has been made with the excavations, of which the most remarkable results were mentioned in my last report. Though nothing more of so great interest has been discovered, excavation within the citadel has brought to light many remains, including a quadrangular building; within this were many bases of statues and inscriptions *in situ*, which identify it as a sanctuary of Dionysus Lenaeus. In an inscription found in the same place mention is made of a theatre, which has not yet been identified. A temple of Amphiaraus has been found on a piece of rising ground to the left of the road leading from the temple of Nemesis to the citadel, with some remains of statues, bases, and votive reliefs of the usual type, resembling those dedicated to Asclepius.<sup>9</sup> At Marathon the excavation of the tumulus has been continued. It will be remembered that last season it had been ascertained that the tumulus did contain the bones of the Athenians who fell in the battle. In the middle of the stratum of bones and ashes which lay under the mound<sup>10</sup> there has been discovered a trench for funeral offerings, such as has been found elsewhere in early Attic tombs.<sup>11</sup> At Marathon this trench is nine metres long, and about one metre broad (external measurement); it was bordered with baked bricks, and contained bones of beasts with ashes and fragments of vases.<sup>12</sup> The vases found in the tumulus have been transported to the National Museum. Most of these are of the ordinary black-figured type; one is a high-necked amphora, with friezes of beasts and monsters in the oriental style, and also a winged figure of the oriental Artemis.<sup>13</sup> This seems remarkable in a tomb which can be dated with certainty to the period of the Persian wars. It is to be hoped that the trenches, which greatly disfigure the tumulus, will be filled in again, especially now that its contents are known.

Outside Athens and Attica, one naturally turns first to the long promised excavations of Delphi. The French School and the officials appointed by the Greek Government have been mostly employed in work which is not strictly archaeological, though it is an indispensable preliminary to excavation. A new site had to be selected for the village of Castri, which covers almost all the remains of Delphi, and after this site had been selected, the portioning out of the new plots among the villagers, the estimates of compensation, and above all the persuasion of the villagers to leave their old houses and to transfer themselves and their possessions to the new houses that are being built to receive them, was a work of considerable time; it is not, indeed, yet completed, and until the houses which occupy the site of the temple itself are removed, systematic progress will be very strictly limited. It is hoped that by next spring this obstacle may be removed. Meanwhile excavation has been begun below the temple, near the portico of the Athenians and the polygonal wall covered with inscriptions. These excava-

<sup>9</sup> *Δελτιον*, 1891, p. 98.

<sup>10</sup> See *J.H.S.* 1891, p. 390.

<sup>11</sup> See *J.H.S.* 1891, p. 389.

<sup>12</sup> *Δελτιον*, 1891, pp. 67, 97.

<sup>13</sup> *Δελτιον*, 1891, p. 69.



tions form a direct continuation of the work which has at various intervals been carried out upon the site by M. Foucart and other members of the French School. The first necessity was the construction of a narrow-gauge railway to carry off the earth, and the rapid gradients and the considerable distance to be traversed made this no light undertaking. Good progress has been made with clearing the space below the temple of Apollo, but the results were not of much importance, but for the discovery of the Sacred Way leading up to the temple and of some inscriptions, bases, &c. The most interesting discovery was due to accident; an archaic female figure of the same kind as those found in such numbers at Delos, Athens, and elsewhere, was washed out by a torrent in flood. This seems to offer an indication that the soil of Delphi also is rich in such figures, and that here too we may look confidently for a still further increase of the material that has added so much of late years to our knowledge of the early history of Greek sculpture. The excavations have been directed by M. Homolle and by M. Couve, on behalf of the French School.

The excavations of the American School at the Heraeum near Argos, under the direction of Dr. Waldstein and the Members of the American School, have already formed the subject of a preliminary report which he has published in England, and it is therefore superfluous for me to describe them in detail. At the same time my report would be defective if it did not give some account of the excavations which have yielded the most interesting results of the season. The excavation has been carried on upon a very large scale, and the clearing of the site, especially of the lower and later temple of Hera, has been thoroughly carried out. The harvest of smaller antiquities, from the Mycenae period down, has been very rich, and several objects have been discovered which throw fresh light upon the early history of civilization and art in Argolis, and upon the technical processes of primitive Greek relief. But the most attractive and at the same time the most important of all the discoveries is a life-size marble female head, which from its style must belong to the latter part of the fifth century, and which will undoubtedly take its place in future among the most beautiful examples of the noblest age of Greek sculpture. This head has already been published with a short description by Dr. Waldstein in his report; a more detailed and complete discussion is promised later. Archaeologists may well await this fuller publication before making up their minds finally on a subject about which the discoverer has so good right to speak. His identification of the head as representing the youthful Hera will probably meet with general acceptance, considering the place where it was found and the suitability of the type; but on the other hand a direct connexion with the style of Polyclitus seems open to doubt. It is true that we have no original by Polyclitus to compare; but on the other hand we have many well attested copies, which agree remarkably in their characteristics: and the new head does not seem to show much affinity to them, while it does show a decided resemblance to many heads of the same period which are undoubtedly of Attic workmanship. Nor can the place of finding entirely override these considerations. Other



works discovered in Argolis, at Lerna for example, have been generally recognized as showing Attic influence, and the same influence seemed recognizable even in the architectural sculptures discovered by previous excavation in the Heraeum itself.<sup>14</sup> To these are now to be added two heads and a nude male torso which are distinctly of the same character. The wonderful artistic activity which decorated Athens in the age of Pericles must have attracted sculptors and masons from all parts of Greece, and we need not wonder if they carried away with them that Attic influence which we may recognize at Phigaleia, at Epidaurus, and even in Argolis, where the local school of sculpture was more occupied with athlete statues and great temple images than with such minor decorative works as the architectural sculptures that adorned a temple. These remarks are not, however, intended to express a final opinion; they are rather meant as a protest against a too hasty assumption that whatever is found in Argolis must necessarily be a typical example of Argive art. A careful analysis of the style and a comparison with attested examples of the various local schools of the period can alone lead to a satisfactory decision.

At Sparta also the American School has made a beginning with excavations.<sup>15</sup> Those on the usually accepted site of the ancient agora were disappointing, the visible remains proving in every case to be of late date. Near the theatre the circular building previously known has been cleared; it proves to be merely a large round basis, supporting no superstructure, but on its surface was found the base of a statue; this confirms its identification with the round building with statues of Zeus and Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias as situated near the Skias. Thus a fixed point is gained to help our knowledge of topography of ancient Sparta. A trench in the theatre has brought to light some remains of the auditorium and a wall of the scena. Some excavations have been made at Phlius by Mr. Washington of the American School, but they do not appear to have led as yet to any considerable discoveries.

At Eretria the clearing of the Theatre, begun by the American School in the previous season, has been continued under the direction of Professor Poland and Mr. Brownson; the whole of the orchestra is now laid bare, and it is thus possible to make out the plan with more accuracy and completeness than before. Meanwhile the plan and section of this theatre have been published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, and thus I am free to speak of it with more detail than was possible last year. This seems desirable because the American publication minimises the importance of the unique and characteristic feature of this theatre, which comes out clearly in the plan and section. The dressing-rooms &c. that form the scena building are on a level not with the orchestra, but with the top of the proscenium (or Vitruvian stage), about twelve feet above the orchestra. Yet Mr. Fossum, who writes the description of the scena, entirely ignores Vitruvius' state-

<sup>14</sup> The more interesting of these have now been moved from Argos into the National Museum at Athens.

<sup>15</sup> *Δελτίον*, 1892, p. 22.



ment, implying that the actors came out from their green-rooms on to the stage at the same level just in front; and he accepts without discussion Dr. Dörpfeld's view that the actors were always in the orchestra, although in order to reach it they would at Eretria have to leave their green-rooms at a back door, come out into the open, and descend a staircase leading to a vaulted passage which passes under the scena to the orchestra. The remarkable confirmation of the statements of Vitruvius offered by this theatre is thus obscured, owing to the preconceived notion that Vitruvius must be wrong. And as if to preclude the possibility of the proscenium here being used as a stage, a parapet is added in the American restoration along its front. So decisive a feature ought not to be inserted except on the clearest evidence; yet none whatever is adduced in the text.

At Sicyon, in the theatre previously excavated by the Americans, Dr. Dörpfeld has found beneath the foundations of the later proscenium traces of an earlier wooden proscenium.<sup>16</sup> These may be compared with the similar traces at Megalopolis. The subterranean passage beneath the orchestra has been further investigated by Mr. Brownson.

Three other theatres must be mentioned, before we go on to the excavations of the British School at Megalopolis. At Argos a trench has been sunk, running out from the cavea and cutting the various lines of stage buildings. Unfortunately the very great depth of the accumulated soil makes any complete clearing extremely difficult and expensive. This depth is such that about fifteen rows of seats were found beneath the surface of the ground. Thus is explained the extraordinary statement in Murray's *Greece* that the orchestra is 200 feet in diameter, or twice as great as even at Megalopolis. As a matter of fact the orchestra now found is only about 54 feet from the front seat to the stage wall. All that remains visible of the stage buildings is of Roman work, but there are some traces of earlier foundations underneath. The orchestra was surrounded by a low wall of late construction, perhaps to allow of its being flooded. Remains of a row of superior seats have been found, and it is stated that there were also traces of a subterranean passage leading under the orchestra from the scena. All the visible remains of scenic arrangements at Argos are of so late a character that we may well compare this with the subterranean passages and trap-doors in Roman amphitheatres. Such passages have been found in many theatres (Eretria, Sicyon, Magnesia, Tralles), but no evidence has yet been produced to show whether they existed in any theatre before Roman times. If such evidence exists, it will naturally affect the question of their use.

The French School has been continuing its work at Delos by further excavations in the theatre there. At Gytheion also the theatre has been excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society, and this work has led to the discovery, in the auditorium, of the seven lowest rows of seats, the bottom ones being superior benches, like those at Megalopolis and Epidaurus. On the *προσέπεισμα* (is this meant to mean back or arm?) of one of these is

<sup>16</sup> *Mittheil. Athen.* 1892, p. 253.



the inscription 'Αντίγονον. There are only five staircases, dividing the auditorium into four cunei.<sup>17</sup>

As to the theatre at Megalopolis I need say little here, as it is to be fully published in a special supplement to this *Journal*. The only new feature to chronicle in the theatre itself is the foundation both in the parodi and under the stone proscenium, showing traces of an earlier wooden proscenium, which cannot however itself be contemporary with the building of the theatre. These traces were first found by Dr. Dörpfeld. The identification of the Thersilion in the square building in front of the theatre was mentioned in my last report. Half of this has now been cleared of earth, and the rest will be completely cleared next spring (1893). This work is under the charge of Mr. Benson, of the British School. The Archeia also, on the other side of the river, have been partially cleared, and foundations of good Greek period have been found underneath the Roman walls that were first discovered. Mr. Loring's detailed survey of the site and the walls, supplemented by some small excavations, was completed last spring, and he is employed this season in the study of Arcadian topography and in the investigation of other Arcadian sites.

At Epidaurus excavation has again been continued. In the building south-east of the temple of Asclepius and north of the temple of Artemis there have been found the remains of an altar and round it a stratum consisting of ashes from the sacrifice and votive offerings. Some of these are at least as early as the beginning of the fifth century, as is shown by archaic inscriptions to Asclepius and Apollo.<sup>18</sup> Some interesting inscriptions have also been found; one of these contains a list of the *θεαράδοκοι* of Asclepius in Acarnania and Italy; another mentions contributions to a sacrifice called the *όλοκαύτησις*.<sup>19</sup> A third is connected with the building of the famous Tholos of Polyclitus, which it calls the *θυμέλη*.<sup>20</sup> a name which gives us a clue to the purpose of the building, which has always been a puzzle. Some more artist signatures have also been found; and in the great square portico north of the Stadium and south-east of the temple of Artemis was found a stamped tile inscription showing it was one of the buildings restored by Antoninus Pius, perhaps, as M. Cavvadias suggests, the Stoa of Cotys.<sup>21</sup> In the north of the large space north-east of the temple of Asclepius has been found the foundation of a small temple which, as M. Cavvadias suggests, may be the Aphroditon mentioned in Pausanias and in the inscriptions regulating the building at Epidaurus.

At Mycenae M. Tsountas has again continued his excavation of the graves which honeycomb the hill-sides round the citadel; some of these were found with the original walling up of the entrance intact. An inscription was also discovered just outside the Lion gate. It runs as follows:—

αἱ μὴ δαμιοργία εἶη, τοὺς ἱερομνάμονας τοὺς ἐς Περσὴ τε(ῖ)σι γονεῦσι  
κριτῆρας ἔμεν κατ (τ)ὰ φεφρημένα.

<sup>17</sup> *Δελτίον*, 1891, p. 113.

<sup>18</sup> *Δελτίον*, 1891, p. 85.

<sup>19</sup> *Δελτίον*, 1892, p. 49.

<sup>20</sup> I owe this fact to a verbal communication of Dr. Dörpfeld.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. ii. 27, 6.



This inscription is cut in archaic letters upon a very extraordinary kind of base, which is circular, and consists so to speak of two approximately conical surfaces, one sloping out from the top downwards, and the other up from the bottom to meet it. The two surfaces intersect, not in a simple circle, but in a wavy line, owing to the varying slope of the lower quasi-conical surface: in appearance there are thus produced a series of deep scollops running all round the basis, an appearance only to be paralleled by the extraordinary bases (and capital ?) in Perrot and Chipiez, ii. pp. 156—166. It is very curious that what is evidently a quotation from a decree should be thus carved upon an ornamental architectural member. Were not the discovery actually recorded, one would be inclined to suspect the genuineness of the whole thing; but that is impossible under the circumstances. Is it possible that this base came from some earlier building destroyed, and was used later to record this decree? <sup>22</sup> This decree itself is strange enough, but M. Tsountas <sup>23</sup> associates it with some festival at the Heronum of Perseus near Mycenae, in which a chorus of boys took part, and consequently disputes might arise between their parents.

On the Palamidi at Nauplia M. Stais has been excavating some tombs of Mycenae period, and considerable curiosity was aroused in Athens by the statement that an inscription had been found in one of them. This proves to be merely what looks like a letter, incised on each handle of a Mycenae vase. It resembles an H, with a short down-stroke joining at an acute angle the top of each of the vertical strokes. Symbols like this need cause no surprise even on Mycenae pottery; they have been found upon it in hundreds of cases by Mr. Petrie at Kahun and Gurob in Egypt; even this very symbol H is found there, and the short return-strokes are often found in other symbols resembling otherwise Greek letters. There is no reason for assigning such incised signs, which are probably merely owners' marks, any alphabetic significance, though the resemblance to Greek, Phoenician, and Cypriote letters of the marks found on very early pottery in Egypt is very extraordinary, and has not yet been satisfactorily explained. At Mycenae too M. Tsountas has found some marks on the handles of a stone bowl and an early vase, which may well be of a similar nature.

At Corinth some excavations made by the Greek Archaeological Society have shown that foundations of the ancient town remain, hidden beneath the soil. What has been actually discovered, however, seems only to be the remains of a private house.

In Arcadia, excavations have been made by M. Leonardos, at the expense of the Archaeological Society, for the purpose of discovering the temple of Demeter Eleusinia and the other shrines mentioned in Pausanias viii. 25. Various local temples or other buildings have been found, but none which could be identified with certainty. Near Divritsa was found a

<sup>22</sup> Or perhaps the decree was mounted on this base and a clause was added upon the base. This suits best both the substance of the clause

and its position.

<sup>23</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, p. 67.



very long and narrow temple; an inscription seems to show that this was dedicated to Kore, though a head of Athena and a bronze plate with a gorgon seem to point to Athena.

At Vachlia was a temple of the same breadth, but half the length, with the basis of a statue; it faced north. At Voutsia also was a building of just the same dimensions. The excavations are to be continued next spring, and may then lead to more decisive results.

At Stratos in Acarnania M. Joubin of the French School has made excavations, chiefly on the site of the temple noticed some time ago by M. Heuzey; it proves to be peripteral and of similar plan to the Theseum. In front of this temple was a great altar. A stoa of the agora was also excavated, and many inscriptions were found, including some of archaic period. These are likely to prove of high interest, considering the dearth of such records hitherto found in this region. M. Joubin is now proceeding to Constantinople, where he will assist Hamdi Bey in the study and cataloguing of the Museum and in excavations and other archaeological work. From the presence of a trained archaeologist in an official position in Turkey we may anticipate most important results. In this connexion the liberality of the French authorities deserves to be held up as an example; they have allowed M. Joubin to hold the Professorship at Dijon to which he has been appointed conjointly with this post at Constantinople, a substitute being appointed to do his work in France.

Mr. G. B. Grundy, who was sent out by the Royal Geographical Society and the University of Oxford to make plans of the battle-fields of Boeotia, has, after an accurate survey, constructed maps on a large scale to illustrate the regions round Plataea and Leuctra. It is hoped that these will facilitate the understanding of the battles. Plataea especially offers many difficult problems which may perhaps now meet with a solution. Mr. Woodhouse of the British School is occupied with topographical study in Aetolia. He has also obtained leave to excavate the temple of Poseidon on Calauria (Poros), which has a peculiar interest from its association with the last days of Demosthenes.

In the general administration of antiquities and museums at Athens the season has been one of remarkable activity; indeed the future visitor to Athens will carry away a different impression of the museums at Athens from his predecessors. Hitherto the Mycenae collection, as exhibited in the Polytechnic, has probably taken the most prominent place in his memory. Now this collection is being moved into the central bar of the National Museum, the room immediately facing the entrance. This is a very fine room for the purpose, and its walls and ceiling have been appropriately decorated with Mycenae patterns. The design is good, and even the results of the most recent excavations have been pressed into the service; but it is greatly to be regretted that the colouring is not satisfactory. Instead of the brilliant blue and scarlet that form so rich and pleasing a contrast in the originals, in this room a pale blue and a dull brownish red are used, which seem much out of place in such designs and spoil the general effect. About



half of Dr. Schliemann's original discoveries have already been arranged in their new home; the rest are now being moved. The other antiquities from Mycenae, Bapheion, &c., mostly due to M. Tsountas' excavations, are still in the Polytechnic, but they also will probably be moved before summer. In the room beyond the Mycenae things will be exhibited M. J. Demetriou's Egyptian collection, which has already been moved thither from the Polytechnic; the coins and gems from the same collection have been handed over to M. Svoronos, and added to the National Collection at present housed in the Academy.

The long promised catalogue of the National Museum by M. Cavvadias has now appeared, and will prove of the greatest use. Its scale may be estimated from the fact that it contains 504 pages (including Index) and 1044 numbers. Practically it covers all the sculpture exhibited in the northern part of the Museum, that is to say, the contents of all the rooms on the left of the door, as far as to the end of the tomb reliefs; it is very complete in its descriptions and in its references. A plan in front of this catalogue shows the disposition of the rooms in the Museum, as now in great part arranged, while the rest is in course of preparation. The Museum is in the shape of an H closed at top and bottom, the longer sides forming the front and back. In the central bar, facing the entrance hall, are the Mycenaean and Egyptian rooms. On the left come the archaic rooms, already the richest in the world in specimens of archaic art, and daily becoming richer: these are followed, still in the front of the building, by the rooms of fifth and fourth century work. At the corner is a room mostly filled with the Rhamnus sculptures, and then comes the long gallery, in the left wing, of Hellenistic and Roman works, followed, in the centre of this wing, by a room mostly filled with hermae and portrait busts. Then the rest of this wing and half the back is taken up by the unrivalled series of tomb reliefs. A room with sarcophagi occupies the centre of the back, opposite the entrance; then come Roman tomb reliefs, and next a room of votive reliefs: out of this open two small galleries with monuments of Byzantine art. The right wing will be entirely given up to vases, and in the right half of the front are two rooms for terra-cottas and one for bronzes, adjoining the entrance hall. Narrow galleries are added round the two inner courts, mostly to contain smaller antiquities of the same nature as those in the adjoining rooms; and round the walls of these courts are arranged the inscriptions (under the direction of Dr. Lolling), protected from the weather by a sloping roof. Thus this Museum, already one of the first in the world for sculpture, will when completed offer a magnificent collection of all classes of monuments; and with the constantly increasing number of its acquisitions it can hardly fail to become representative in all branches, and unrivalled in many.

The antiquities found in the Acropolis excavations still continue to give employment to a good deal of energy on the part of the Foreign Schools. Dr. Wolters and Dr. Gräf have made great progress with their sorting and cataloguing of the vase fragments, and their publication will be awaited with



great interest. Dr. Winter, of Berlin, is at present studying the types of the terra-cottas. Mr. Bather, of the British School, has continued his cleaning and sorting of the bronze fragments, and the results of his work will be published in this *Journal*; the first instalment appears in the present number. Since I published in a previous report<sup>24</sup> an account of the process officially adopted for the cleaning of bronzes on the Acropolis, considerable modifications have been introduced in this process in consequence of experience; it therefore seems desirable to chronicle also the new method now adopted, which, though very slow, certainly gives excellent results both in bringing out the design and in restoring a satisfactory colour to the bronze. It should be stated also that the unpleasant shiny surface which disfigures many of the bronzes cleaned by the old method, and which has led to so severe strictures upon that method, can easily be removed. The process now adopted is as follows:<sup>25</sup>—The bronzes to be cleaned, after merely removing loose earth, are completely immersed in water, contained in a glazed earthenware bowl, into which some zinc cuttings have been inserted; then the hydrochloric acid is poured in to a strength of 10 per cent. The hydrogen generated thus does not attack the bronze itself, but only the oxides of it; from these it takes away the oxygen, leaving only a coat of powdered metal adhering to the surface. After twenty-four hours' immersion this coat is brushed off. The process is repeated with gradually diminishing additions of hydrochloric acid until the bronze is clean. After this it is placed in a 1 per cent. solution of soda or potash, to remove the acid. Then it is washed and placed in distilled water for twenty-four hours, and afterwards dried for twenty-four hours in dry sawdust. It is next placed on an iron plate, and heated until it is perfectly dry, and finally a thin layer of pure white wax is laid on the surface with a small brush.

It will be seen from what I have chronicled that the year 1892 has been one of manifold activity, and that much of the work begun and successfully carried on during its course offers promise of most interesting results in the immediate future.

E. A. G.

January 25, 1893.

<sup>24</sup> *J.H.S.* 1889, p. 275.

<sup>25</sup> *Δελτίον*, 1892, p. 32.



### THE PRE-PERSIAN TEMPLE ON THE ACROPOLIS.

IN 1886 the excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society on the Acropolis at Athens laid bare the foundations of a large ancient temple immediately to the south of the Erechtheum. It was at once recognized that this temple must have been the one burnt by the Persians when they sacked Athens in 480 B.C. This conclusion has been generally accepted and there is no ground for questioning it. But Dr. Dörpfeld, who superintended the excavations and to whom we are indebted for a detailed plan and description of the existing remains, has propounded a theory that the temple was rebuilt by the Athenians shortly after the Persian war, and that it continued to exist as late certainly as the second century of our era and probably much later. If Dr. Dörpfeld had based this theory on the nature of the existing architectural remains, his judgment might well have been regarded as final, since no man living is better qualified than he to pronounce an opinion on all questions relating to Greek architecture. Certainly I for one would not have presumed to differ from him. But although Dr. Dörpfeld believes that the temple was twice burnt and twice rebuilt by the Athenians, he does not maintain that a single stone of the existing remains is of later date than the Persian sack. His theory of the restoration of the temple rests almost wholly on considerations of historical probability and on literary and epigraphical evidence. It is therefore one which every scholar is free to examine and estimate for himself. I have lately had occasion to do so; and an attentive and, I trust, unprejudiced consideration of Dr. Dörpfeld's evidence has led me to the conclusion that his theory is open to grave, if not insuperable, objections. These objections I propose to state in the present paper. I shall be honoured if Dr. Dörpfeld should deem them worthy of his attention.

It will conduce to clearness if I begin by stating briefly, first, the nature of the existing remains, and, second, the principal arguments on which Dr. Dörpfeld bases his theory.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The remains of the temple are described, with a ground plan, by Dr. Dörpfeld in the

Athenian *Mittheilungen* of the German Archaeological Institute, vol. xi. (1886) pp. 337-351.



The standing remains of the temple are situated immediately to the south and south-west of the Erechtheum. Though they consist merely of foundations and of a single stone of the top course of the stylobate they suffice to show that the temple was of the common peripteral pattern; *i.e.* that it was a quadrangular and oblong building, surrounded by a colonnade, with its two narrow ends facing approximately east and west. The length of the temple, exclusive of the colonnade, was about 33·5 metres or a little over 100 Attic feet.<sup>2</sup> The interior was divided into two somewhat unequal halves, an eastern and a western, separated from each other by a partition wall and entered by separate doors at the east and west ends. The eastern half of the temple consisted of a shallow portico at the east end and a large inner chamber, the *cella* or shrine proper, approached through the portico. The western and somewhat larger half of the temple comprised a portico at the west end, a large inner chamber approached through the portico, and two smaller chambers lying north and south of each other and situated between the large western chamber and the large eastern chamber or *cella*. These two smaller chambers probably opened by two separate doors into the large western chamber, not into the *cella*. The accompanying sketch-plan will make clear the arrangement of the temple and its position relatively to the Erechtheum and Parthenon.

The foundations of the temple proper are built of the hard bluish limestone of the Acropolis; the foundations of the colonnade are built of a reddish grey limestone brought from Piræus. As the materials of the two sets of foundations differ, so do their styles of masonry. The foundations of the colonnade are decidedly better built than those of the temple proper, the superiority being evinced both in the greater regularity of the courses and in the more accurate jointing of the individual blocks. These differences in material and workmanship between the foundations of the colonnade and those of the temple proper might be explained, Dr. Dörpfeld tells us, on the supposition that the builders desired to construct the outer foundation-walls in a better and more massive style; but he thinks it more probable that the temple was originally built without a colonnade, and that the colonnade was a later embellishment of it. From a comparison of the foundations of the colonnade with those of buildings which are known to belong to the age of Pisistratus, Dr. Dörpfeld infers that the colonnade was added to the temple in the sixth century B.C., and was probably a work of Pisistratus. These conclusions may be accepted on Dr. Dörpfeld's authority.

Built into the north fortification wall of the Acropolis, not far from the

His theory of the history of the temple is stated and defended by him *ib.* xii. (1887) pp. 25-61, 190-211, and xv. (1890) pp. 420-439. Objections are urged by Mr. Eugen Petersen, *ib.* xii. pp. 62-72, by Mr. K. Wernicke, *ib.* xii. pp. 184-189, and by Mr. H. N. Fowler in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, viii. (1893) pp. 1-17. Dr. Dörpfeld's views as to the history

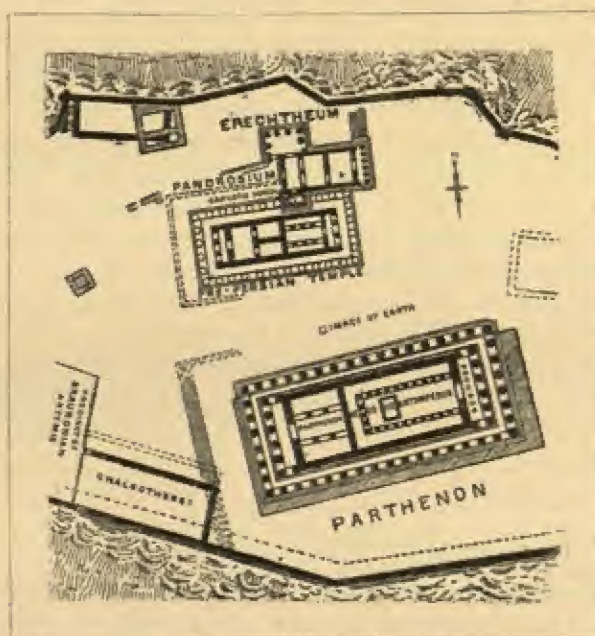
of the temple are accepted partially by Dr. Lolling in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, ii. (1890) pp. 627-662, and wholly by Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 414 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*, though she differs from Dr. Dörpfeld as to the passage in which she believes Pausanias to have described the temple.

<sup>2</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xv. (1890) p. 172.



temple, are many architectural fragments, including drums of columns, Doric capitals, triglyphs, and pieces of architraves, all of common stone, together with some marble metopes. These architectural fragments Dr. Dörpfeld, with his usual acumen and tact, has proved to belong to the colonnade of the temple. The technical grounds on which his proof rests need not detain us; his conclusion may be accepted. The portion of the Acropolis wall into which these fragments are built is believed by archaeologists, including Dr. Dörpfeld, to have been constructed by Cimon not long after the Persian war.

So much for the remains of this ancient temple, which I shall call the Pre-Persian temple in order to distinguish it from the two great temples still standing on the Acropolis, namely the Parthenon and the Erechtheum.



The history of the Pre-Persian temple, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, was as follows. The temple existed in Homeric times. In proof of this Dr. Dörpfeld cites two passages of Homer. In one of them<sup>3</sup> Homer says that Athena came to Athens 'and went into the strong house of Erechtheus.' In the other passage it is said<sup>4</sup> that Athena 'settled him (Erechtheus) at Athens in her own rich temple, and there, as the years go round, the

<sup>3</sup> Ἰκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγειαν Ἀθήνην,  
δοῦρε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.

*Od.* vii. 80 sq.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι εἶσεν (scil. Ἐρεχθῆα) ἐφ' ἐν  
πύλῃσι νηφ'.

ἐνθα δὲ μιν ταύροις καὶ ἄρρηνσι ἰλάσονται  
κούροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλόμενοι ἐνιαυτῶν.

*Il.* ii. 549 sqq.



Athenian youths propitiate him with bulls and lambs.' According to Dr. Dörpfeld these passages are to be interpreted as follows. 'The strong house of Erechtheus' was the great palace of the old Kings of Athens on the Acropolis; it contained within it a temple of Athena (the Pre-Persian temple), and at a later time a small temple of Erechtheus was built close beside, but separate from, the temple of Athena.

In the sixth century B.C. the colonnade was added to the temple of Athena by Pisistratus. In 480 B.C. the temple was burnt by the Persians,<sup>5</sup> but was soon afterwards restored by the Athenians. This supposed restoration of the temple is the crucial point in Dr. Dörpfeld's theory, and the evidence he adduces to prove it must be carefully scanned. No ancient writer mentions the restoration, and not a stone of the existing remains is later than the Persian sack. Dr. Dörpfeld himself does not maintain that the Athenians restored the colonnade of the temple. The evidence against its restoration is indeed conclusive. For in the first place many architectural fragments of the colonnade are built, as we saw, into Cimon's wall, where they still remain. This proves that in Cimon's time, soon after the Persian war, the original colonnade was no longer standing. In the second place, the caryatid porch of the Erechtheum, built towards the end of the fifth century B.C., stands on what was part of the stylobate of the colonnade. But though Dr. Dörpfeld does not maintain that the Athenians rebuilt the colonnade, he does maintain that they restored the temple itself.

His first argument for its restoration is drawn from a consideration of historical probability. The temple was destroyed in 480 B.C., and the Parthenon, the magnificent new temple which was ultimately to replace it, was not ready till about 438 B.C.<sup>6</sup> Is it likely, asks Dr. Dörpfeld, that during this long interval of forty years or more the Athenians would have been without a temple of Athena and without a treasury? For it is an essential part of his theory that the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple were used as a treasury. We know that in 454 B.C. the moneys levied as tribute from the allies were transferred from Delos to Athens, where the large sums annually accruing from this source were thenceforward kept. That they must have been preserved in some strong place is obvious. Now we know that the Parthenon, on its completion, was used as a storehouse for sacred treasures. It is probable, therefore, Dr. Dörpfeld holds, that its predecessor the Pre-Persian temple was similarly used, and that in particular the tribute of the allies was lodged in it from 454 B.C. onward.

This is Dr. Dörpfeld's argument from probability. But apart from

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, viii. 53.

<sup>6</sup> In 438/7 B.C. the Parthenon was so far ready that the gold and ivory statue of the goddess was set up in it (Philostratus, quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605). The roof must therefore have been on the temple in that year. But the decorative details seem not to have been finished for some years after-

wards, for we learn from an inscription that in 433/2 B.C. the superintendents of the work were still in office. See Mr. P. Foucart in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, xiii. (1889) p. 174 *sqq.* The temple, as we now know from inscriptions, was begun in 447 B.C. See Prof. U. Köhler in *Mittheilungen*, iv. (1879) p. 35; Mr. P. Foucart *loc. cit.*



considerations of probability, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks we have positive evidence that the Pre-Persian temple existed and was used as a treasury long after the Parthenon was finished. The positive evidence on which he chiefly relies is the mention of the *opisthodomos* in official inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> I will call this for brevity the *opisthodomos* argument. It is as follows:—

On official inscriptions dealing with the sacred treasures and beginning in 435/4 B.C.<sup>8</sup>, the time when the Parthenon was practically finished, mention is made of four separate places in which the treasures were lodged. These are the *pronaos* (*προμήιος* or *πρόνεως*), the *neos hekatompedos* (*νεὸς ἐκατόμπεδος*), the *parthenon*, and the *opisthodomos*.<sup>9</sup> Now the Parthenon or great temple of Athena, in which a vast quantity of the sacred treasures was kept, consisted of four compartments, namely—(to take them in order from east to west) the eastern portico, the eastern chamber or *cella*, the western chamber, and the western portico. All are agreed that the *pronaos* mentioned in the inscriptions is the eastern portico of the Parthenon; it is practically certain that, as Dr. Dörpfeld holds, the *neos hekatompedos* was the eastern chamber or *cella* of the Parthenon; and Dr. Dörpfeld has shown good grounds for believing that the *parthenon* (in the restricted sense in which the name occurs in the inscriptions) was the western chamber of the Parthenon temple.<sup>10</sup> Thus of the four places mentioned on the inscriptions three are identified by Dr. Dörpfeld with three out of the four compartments of the Parthenon. The fourth place (the *opisthodomos*) is identified by him, not with the fourth compartment of the Parthenon, but with the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. His grounds for so identifying it are these. The scholiasts and lexicographers tell us that the *opisthodomos* was a compartment (*οἶκος*) or treasury at the back of the temple of Athena.<sup>11</sup> Hence, as the back of a Greek temple was the west end, the *opisthodomos* must have been a compartment at the west end of a

<sup>7</sup> That his chief reliance is on the *opisthodomos* argument is twice stated by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 33, 209).

<sup>8</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 32.

<sup>9</sup> *C.I.A.* i. Nos. 32, 117–175, 273; *C.I.A.*, ii. Nos. 642, 645, 652, 655, 667, 670, 675, 678, 701, 704, 708, 719, 720, 731, 727, 751, 755; *C.I.A.* iv. No. 225c (p. 189).

<sup>10</sup> The main grounds on which the *neos hekatompedos* is identified with the *cella* of the Parthenon are that (1) the *cella* of the Parthenon is just 100 Attic feet long, so that it answers exactly to the name *hekatompedos*; and (2) the inscriptions show that the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos stood in the *neos hekatompedos*. On the names of the various compartments of the Parthenon see U. Köhler in *Mittheilungen*, v. (1880) p. 89 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, vi. (1881) p. 296 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Mittheilungen*, xv. (1890) pp. 171 *sq.*, 426 *sqq.* Dr. Lolling attempted to show that *neos hekatompe-*

*dos* always meant the Pre-Persian temple ('*Ἀθηνᾶ*, ii. p. 627 *sqq.*), but he was refuted by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Mittheilungen*, xv. p. 427 *sqq.*).

<sup>11</sup> *ὁ οἶκος δ' ὅπισθεν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* Harpocration, s.v. *ὀπισθόδομος*; cp. Schol. on Demosthenes, xiii. 14, p. 170, 6. *ταμείον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀκροπόλει ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶ* Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ὀπισθόδομος*; cp. *Etymol. Magn.* p. 627, s.v. *ὀπισθόδομος*. *Μέρος τι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἰνθα ἦν τὸ ταμείον ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶ* Suidas, s.v. *ὀπισθόδομος*; cp. Schol. on Lucian *Pygmalion*, 7; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193. *Ὅπισθεν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιᾶδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦν τοῖχος ἔχων ὄραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκειον* Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193. *Τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἀδύτου* Schol. on Lucian, *Timon*, 53. *Τὸ κατόπιν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως* Pollux, ix. 5, 40. *Οἶκός ἐστι δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως* Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 136, p. 743, 1.



temple of Athena. Now the western chamber of the Parthenon was called the *parthenon* in the restricted sense. It cannot therefore have been the *opisthodomos*. Nor can the *opisthodomos* have been in the Erechtheum, since no one maintains that the Erechtheum had an *opisthodomos*. It remains, therefore, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, that the *opisthodomos* of the inscriptions must have been the three western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple. This conclusion, he thinks, is greatly strengthened by an inscription<sup>13</sup> which records an ordinance that the moneys of Athena shall be kept *ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου*, and the moneys of the rest of the gods *ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερά*. These phrases Dr. Dörpfeld interprets to mean 'in the right-hand chamber of the *opisthodomos*' and 'in the left-hand chamber of the *opisthodomos*,' and he applies them to the two smaller chambers in the western half of the Pre-Persian temple. Thus on the strength of inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries which make mention of the *opisthodomos* Dr. Dörpfeld concludes that the Pre-Persian temple continued to be used as a treasury till towards the end of the fourth century B.C. at least.<sup>14</sup> Such is Dr. Dörpfeld's *opisthodomos* argument.

But after its restoration in 480 B.C. the Pre-Persian temple was, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, a second time burnt and a second time restored. His evidence for this second conflagration is primarily a statement of Xenophon<sup>15</sup> that in 406 B.C. 'the ancient temple of Athena at Athens was burnt.' Formerly it was supposed that this 'ancient temple of Athena' was the Erechtheum. But we know from an inscription<sup>16</sup> that in 409 B.C., only three years before the fire mentioned by Xenophon, the new Erechtheum was still unfinished. It could not therefore, Dr. Dörpfeld argues, have been called 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C. Nor could 'the ancient temple of Athena' be the splendid new Parthenon, which had been completed only about thirty years before. Therefore 'the ancient temple of Athena' which was burnt in 406 B.C. could be no other than the restored Pre-Persian temple. This is confirmed, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, by a

<sup>13</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 32; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 14.

<sup>14</sup> The last inscription which mentions the *opisthodomos* (*C.I.A.* ii. No. 721) is considered by the editor, Prof. U. Köhler, to be not older than Ol. 115. 2 (319/8 B.C.).

<sup>15</sup> τῷ δ' ἐπιδότω ἐκεῖ ᾧ ἢ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεκρήσθη, πύρα μὲν ἐφορεῖσσαν, ἀρχοντας δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν, Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 1. Some editors and critics (including K. O. Müller, 'Minervae Polladis sacra et aedes,' *Kunstarchäologische Werke*, i. p. 108 *sq.*) have suspected this passage of being an interpolation. But the mention of the eclipse of the moon proves that the writer of the passage, if not Xenophon himself, was at least a contemporary and a well-informed person. For a total eclipse

of the moon took place on April 15th, 406 B.C. at 8.30 p.m. (Greenwich time ?) according to *L'Art de vérifier les dates* (Paris, 1820). Cp. Th. v. Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse* (*Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wissen. Mathem. Naturwissen.* Cl. Bd. lii. Wien, 1887), p. 337. Oppolzer puts the eclipse on April 26th. I presume the apparent discrepancy is due to the difference of reckoning between the Julian and Gregorian calendars. If the eclipse took place at 8.30 p.m. Greenwich time, it would be visible at Athens about 10 p.m. Athenian time. For the references to Oppolzer and *L'Art de vérifier les dates* I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. G. H. Darwin.

<sup>16</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 322, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part I. No. xxxv.



mention in Demosthenes<sup>16</sup> of a fire in the *opisthodomos*, on account of which the two boards of treasurers (the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of the other gods) were imprisoned and brought to trial. This fire in the *opisthodomos* was identical, Dr. Dörpfeld considers, with the burning of 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C. Hence we have another proof that 'the ancient temple of Athena' was not the Erechtheum but the Pre-Persian temple, since the *opisthodomos* was not in the Erechtheum but in the Pre-Persian temple. Thus the Pre-Persian temple was burnt for the second time in 406 B.C. But it must have been restored soon afterwards and again employed as a treasury; for in inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. we find repeated mentions of the 'old temple' and the *opisthodomos* as treasuries.<sup>17</sup> These references are, Dr. Dörpfeld holds, to the Pre-Persian temple and its western chambers. Further, an inscription of the fourth century B.C.,<sup>18</sup> which appears to mention a sacrifice offered 'in the old temple,' is adduced by Dr. Dörpfeld as evidence that the Pre-Persian temple continued in that century to be used as a place of worship as well as a treasury. This argument for the continuance of the Pre-Persian temple, drawn from the mention of the 'ancient' or 'old temple' by Xenophon and in inscriptions, I shall call for brevity the 'old temple' argument.

Thus, relying mainly on the mention of the *opisthodomos* and 'old temple' in inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, Dr. Dörpfeld would prolong the existence of the Pre-Persian temple down to the end of the fourth century B.C. But if the temple survived so long, the presumption is that it survived much longer. For if the Athenians allowed it to stand after the completion of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, there is no obvious reason why they should ever have removed it; and certainly no notice of its removal has come down to us. If, therefore, as Dr. Dörpfeld holds, it survived into Roman or even mediaeval times, we should expect to find it mentioned by the later authors of antiquity. Now writers from Philochorus to Eustathius refer to a 'temple of Athena Polias,' a 'temple of the Polias,' an 'old temple of Athena Polias'; and an inscription of the second or first century B.C. mentions 'the old temple of Athena Polias.'<sup>19</sup> Many at least of these references, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, are to the Pre-Persian temple. The way in which that temple came to bear these various designations was this. It was originally the only temple of Athena Polias, that is of Athena in her character of Guardian of the City. But when the great temple which we call the Parthenon was built, that magnificent new edifice became at once the principal temple of Athena Polias, and the restored Pre-Persian temple, sinking to a subordinate

<sup>16</sup> οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐν τῷ ὀπισθόδομῳ συνεκράσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, Demosthenes, xxiv. 136, p. 743.

<sup>17</sup> In this connexion the 'old temple' (ἀρχαῖος ναός) is mentioned in *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 74, 672, 733, 755; and the *opisthodomos* in *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 652, 720, 721, cp. 685.

<sup>18</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 163. The passage in question is mutilated, and has been variously restored on conjecture as τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ναῷ θυσίαν (scil. θυσίας) and τὴν τῷ Ἀρχαίῳ ναῷ θυσίαν. The former and more probable conjecture has been accepted by Dr. Dörpfeld.

<sup>19</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 464.



position, was distinguished from it as 'the old temple of Athena Polias,' 'the old temple of the Polias,' or 'the old temple' simply. In course of time, however, the goddess of the great temple came to be commonly known as Athena Parthenos (the Maiden Athena); and the name Parthenon, which originally and properly designated only a single chamber of the great temple, was in popular parlance extended to the whole of the great temple, of which it gradually became the regular appellation. Hence, when the name Parthenon had superseded the name 'temple of Athena Polias' as the ordinary title of the great temple, it was no longer needful to distinguish the Pre-Persian temple from the great temple by the epithet 'old'; accordingly the adjective was often dropt, and the Pre-Persian temple was called simply the 'temple of Athena Polias' or, still more briefly, the 'temple of the Polias.' This argument for the continuance of the Pre-Persian temple, drawn from the mention of the 'old temple of Athena Polias' or simply 'the temple of Athena Polias (the Polias)' in later authors, I shall call for brevity the Polias argument.

Lastly, Dr. Dörpfeld believes that the Pre-Persian temple was actually seen and described by Pausanias in the second century A.D. His reasons for this belief will be given later on.

Thus Dr. Dörpfeld's main arguments for the restoration and continuance of the Pre-Persian temple are five in number, namely:—

- i. The argument from probability;
- ii. The *opisthodomos* argument;
- iii. The 'old temple' argument;
- iv. The Polias argument;
- v. The Pausanias argument.

I will examine these arguments one by one.

(i.) The argument from probability. Dr. Dörpfeld considers that the Athenians must have rebuilt the Pre-Persian temple soon after its destruction in 480 B.C., since they would need it both as a place of worship and as a treasury till the Parthenon was ready; and we now know that the existing Parthenon was not begun till 447 B.C. and was not ready to receive the new statue of the goddess until 438 B.C.<sup>20</sup> But an examination of the substructions of the Parthenon and of the architectural fragments still existing on the Acropolis has shown that soon after the Persian war the Athenians, probably under Cimon's administration, had planned and actually begun to build a large new temple of Athena on the site of the present Parthenon, to the south of the Pre-Persian temple. That this new temple was intended to replace the one burnt by the Persians is obvious and is admitted by Dr.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 156, iv. 8.



Dörpfeld himself.<sup>21</sup> It seems, therefore, very improbable that the Athenians would have restored the old temple at the time when they were planning or had actually begun to build a new temple which was to replace it. This improbability is increased by an admission which Dr. Dörpfeld implicitly made in the third of his papers on the history of the Pre-Persian temple. In his first paper he had represented the destruction of the temples by the Persians as complete and total. 'Everything that could be broken was smashed, the columns were thrown down, everything combustible was fired, everything that was valuable was pillaged.' In particular the colonnade of the Pre-Persian temple shared this general destruction; for we know that it was never rebuilt, and had it been standing after the sack the Athenians would certainly not (said Dr. Dörpfeld) have pulled it down when they were restoring the temple.<sup>22</sup> But in his third paper Dr. Dörpfeld expresses a different view of the state in which the Persians left the temple. He thinks that they by no means destroyed the whole of it, but left the walls and the colonnade standing. This follows with certainty, he says, from the condition of the architectural pieces (architraves, triglyphs, and *geisa*) of the colonnade which are built into the north wall of the Acropolis. For the excellent preservation of these pieces shows clearly (he tells us) that they cannot have come from the ruins of a temple which had tumbled in, but must have been taken from the building while it was still standing and carefully built into the Acropolis wall.<sup>23</sup> This is, of course, to admit, what Dr. Dörpfeld had previously denied, that the Athenians found the colonnade of the temple standing after the sack and that they deliberately and carefully pulled it down. Yet Dr. Dörpfeld holds that at the same time that they were pulling down the colonnade they were restoring the temple. Is this likely? And observe the place in which the pieces of the colonnade were found. They are built into a wall which Dr. Dörpfeld himself believes to have been constructed by Cimon. Is it not a fair presumption, then, that the colonnade was pulled down by Cimon? We have already seen that, on Dr. Dörpfeld's own view, Cimon began building a stately new temple which was to replace the old one. And it now appears at least highly probable that he pulled down the colonnade of the old temple. Is it not reasonable to suppose that his destructive activity on one part of the Acropolis was directly connected with his constructive activity on another part? that he pulled down not only the colonnade of the burnt temple but the temple itself, because he was building a new and grander temple to take its place? On Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis, on the other hand, we must suppose that the Athenians were

<sup>21</sup> This temple, the intended successor of the Pre-Persian temple and the predecessor of the Parthenon, is discussed by Dr. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, xvii. (1892) pp. 155-159. That it was meant to replace the Pre-Persian temple is expressly said by him (p. 173). The exact time when this new temple was begun cannot, Dr. Dörpfeld tells us, be determined. But on

architectural grounds he believes that 'the temple was built or at least begun in the time after the Persian wars' (p. 157). He is of opinion that either Themistocles or Cimon could have built it, but on historical grounds he decides in favour of Cimon (p. 188).

<sup>22</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 30, 32.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, xv. (1890) p. 424.



either at one and the same time or in rapid succession, demolishing the colonnade of the old temple, restoring the temple itself, and building a new temple to supersede it. Nothing but the most cogent evidence should induce us to accept an hypothesis so improbable.

Till the new temple was ready, the Athenians must certainly have had some strong place in which to store the public and sacred treasures. But that this place must necessarily have been, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, the western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple, is far from obvious, even if we grant, what seems likely, that these chambers had served as a treasury before the destruction of the temple.<sup>24</sup> There were probably many strong places in Athens where the treasures could have been safely lodged till the new temple was ready to receive them. In point of fact, if Prof. A. Kirchhoff's restoration of an Attic inscription is correct,<sup>25</sup> we have positive evidence that during the period in question some at least of the sacred moneys were kept, not in a temple at all, but in 'the enclosure to the south of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis.' This enclosure may very well have been a temporary building erected after the Persian war to house the treasures till the new temple was ready. But as the evidence of this depends on the conjectural restoration of an inscription, I refrain from laying weight on it.

(ii.) The *opisthodomos* argument. The argument on which Dr. Dörpfeld chiefly relies to prove the restoration of the Pre-Persian temple is the mention of the *opisthodomos* in inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

<sup>24</sup> An inscription (*C.I.A.* iv. p. 137 *sqq.*), found on the Acropolis and dating from before the Persian war, mentions the Pre-Persian temple under the appropriate title of the Hekatompedon, and contains a provision that the chambers (*olethmura*) in the temple shall be opened by the treasurers (*ol raplai*). These chambers are almost certainly the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple; and the provision that they shall be opened by the treasurers makes it at least highly probable that they contained treasures. A passage in this inscription was formerly interpreted by Dr. Dörpfeld to mean 'treasure-chamber'; but the passage is mutilated and must almost certainly, as Professors A. Kirchhoff and W. Dittenberger have seen, be restored in a way which absolutely excludes all reference to a treasure-chamber. This would now, I believe, be admitted by Dr. Dörpfeld himself. See Kirchhoff's restoration of the passage in *C.I.A.* iv. p. 139, and Dittenberger's in *Hermes*, xxvi. (1891) p. 472 *sq.* For the inscription itself, see also *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν* (1890) p. 92 *sqq.*; H. G. Lolling in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, ii. (1890) p. 627 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, xv. (1890) p. 420 *sqq.* That there were 'treasurers of the sanctuary' before the Persian

war is attested by Herodotus (viii. 51). The treasurers are also mentioned on an inscription not later than the middle of the sixth century B.C., which seems to contain a dedication by them of certain bronze objects to Athena (*C.I.A.* iv. No. 373 (238) p. 199; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, p. 55; *Ἀθηνᾶ*, ii. p. 646). The analogy of the Parthenon is also in favour of the view that its predecessor the Pre-Persian temple had been used as a treasury.

<sup>25</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 1, supplemented in *C.I.A.* iv. p. 3 *sq.* The passage in question is this: [τ]οῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ ἀργυροῦ τὸ μὲν . . . . . [μ]εν[ον ταμιεύε]σθαι [ἐν περιβ]ολῶ[ι τῇ νότ]ω[ι] τοῦ τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ[ις ἀρχαί]ου νε[ῶ]ς ἐν πόλει. The inscription is considered by Prof. Kirchhoff to be clearly far older than Ol. 81 (456 B.C.). Dr. Dörpfeld conjecturally supplied one of the lacunae thus [ἐν τῇ] τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ[ις ἀρχαί]ου νε[ῶ]ς ἐν πόλει, and adduced the inscription as evidence that 'the old temple' was used as a treasury at the time when the inscription was cut (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 39). But however we may supply the lacuna in question, the mention of the περιβολοί seems to prove decisively that the money was *not* kept in the temple.



According to him, the *opisthodomos* was the three western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple, which had been in use as a treasury from soon after 480 B.C., and which in particular from 454 B.C. onward had accommodated the tribute of the allies. Now if this was so, is it not remarkable that the first mention of the *opisthodomos* should occur on two decrees of 435 B.C.,<sup>26</sup> just at the time when the Parthenon is known to have been practically completed? One of these decrees provides, amongst other things, that 'treasurers of the other gods' shall be elected by lot; that they shall store the moneys of the gods in the *opisthodomos* on the Acropolis; and that, in conjunction with the treasurers of Athena, they shall open and shut the doors of the *opisthodomos* and put the seals on them. The other decree ordains that the moneys of Athena shall be kept on the right side, and the moneys of the other gods on the left side, of the *opisthodomos*. It seems clear that these decrees of 435 B.C. lay down regulations for the storing of treasures in the *opisthodomos* as if that place were now for the first time to be used as a treasury. This is perfectly intelligible if the *opisthodomos* was part of the Parthenon which was, as we have seen, receiving its last touches about this very time. But it is hardly intelligible on Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis that the *opisthodomos* was the three western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple which, according to him, had been already used as a treasury for forty years or more at the time when these decrees were passed. Surely it is no mere coincidence that the official lists of the treasures stored in three out of the four compartments of the Parthenon begin in the very year after these decrees regulating the use of the *opisthodomos* as a treasury were passed, namely in 434/3 B.C.<sup>27</sup>

Further, if Dr. Dörpfeld is right in his view of the *opisthodomos*, there is a remarkable and even mysterious omission in the treasury documents which have come down to us. These documents, preserved in inscriptions, begin with the above-mentioned decrees of 435 B.C. and are extant in an almost unbroken series for the rest of the fifth century, and, less completely, for the fourth century B.C. Now in this long series of documents, beginning very significantly in the very years when the Parthenon is known to have been receiving its last touches, mention is made of four compartments, and only four compartments, of a temple, which were used as treasure-chambers. Of these four compartments three are rightly identified by Dr. Dörpfeld with three out of the four compartments of the Parthenon, namely the eastern portico, the eastern chamber or *cella*, and the western chamber. But the fourth compartment

<sup>26</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 32; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 14; E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 37. The date here assigned to the decrees has been questioned. But we may safely acquiesce in the unanimous and decided opinion of three such experts as Prof. A. Kirchhoff, Prof. W. Dittenberger, and Mr. E. L. Hicks. The question is discussed at

length by Prof. A. Kirchhoff in the *Philolog. und histor. Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for 1876. Dr. Dörpfeld apparently accepts this date; at least he puts the decrees later than the completion of the Parthenon (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 38).

<sup>27</sup> *C.I.A.* i. Nos. 117, 141, 161.



mentioned on the treasury documents (namely the *opisthodomos*) is identified by Dr. Dörpfeld, not with the fourth compartment of the Parthenon (namely the western portico), but with the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. It follows that, if he is right, the fourth compartment of the Parthenon (namely the western portico) is not mentioned on the treasury documents and was not used for the storing of treasure. If this is so, it is very remarkable, since the western portico, being at the back of the temple and therefore less accessible to the public, was much better adapted for a treasury than the eastern portico, which nevertheless, as we learn from the inscriptions, was regularly used as such. Surely the natural and almost inevitable inference from the inscriptions is that the fourth compartment mentioned on them (the *opisthodomos*) was the fourth compartment of the Parthenon (namely the western portico), since the other three compartments of the Parthenon are known to have been used as treasure-chambers for the first time in the very year after the regulations for the use of the *opisthodomos* as a treasure-chamber were first promulgated. Thus even if we had no evidence before us but that of the inscriptions, we should almost be driven, it seems to me, to conclude that the *opisthodomos* was the western portico of the Parthenon. This was Dr. Dörpfeld's own view before the discovery of the Pre-Persian temple. Indeed he argued strenuously for it, pointing out that the western portico was well fitted to serve as a treasure-chamber 'since we know that it, as well as the eastern portico, was most carefully closed with strong railings and a door up to the architrave,' and concluding that 'in official language the *opisthodomos* was always the western portico of the Parthenon.'<sup>28</sup>

But there is another and independent consideration which points at least as clearly to the conclusion that the *opisthodomos* was the western portico of the Parthenon, and not, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. It is this: *opisthodomos* was the regular name for the western portico, not for the western chamber (or chambers), of a Greek temple. Dr. Dörpfeld himself formerly admitted this and used it, with justice, as an argument to show that the western portico of the Parthenon was the *opisthodomos*. 'In all temples,' he said, 'the name *opisthodomos* designates the western portico. Why should the Parthenon alone be an exception?'<sup>29</sup> That this is the proper meaning of the word *opisthodomos*, as applied to a temple, can easily be shown. The name *opisthodomos* (literally 'back-building') is defined by ancient lexicographers as 'the back of any building.'<sup>30</sup> That it was applied to the back of a house is proved by a passage in Appian.<sup>31</sup> Varro<sup>32</sup> and

<sup>28</sup> *Mittheilungen*, vi. (1881) p. 300—302.

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.* p. 300 *sq.*

<sup>30</sup> τὸ ὀπισθὸν μέρος οἰκίας, Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. ὀπισθόδομος; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 627, s.v. ὀπισθόδομος. Cf. Hesychius, s.v. ὀπισθόδομος; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193.

<sup>31</sup> *Bellum Civile*, i. 20. Appian here mentions a report that Scipio, who was found dead in his house, had been strangled by men introduced into the house by night through the *opisthodomos*.

<sup>32</sup> *De lingua Latina*, v. 160, ed. Müller, 'Domus Græcum, et ideo in aedibus sacris ante



Pollux<sup>35</sup> tell us that, in its application to a temple, the name *opisthodomos* designated the back, as opposed to *prodomos* the front. Now since *prodomos*, equivalent to *pronaos*,<sup>34</sup> was the eastern portico of a temple, it follows that its counterpart *opisthodomos* was the western portico. This is confirmed by a passage in Diodorus Siculus,<sup>35</sup> who, describing how Syracuse was turned into a vast workshop of arms in the days when Dionysius was preparing to make war on the Carthaginians, mentions that even the *pronaoi* and *opisthodomoi* (i.e. the eastern and western porticos) of the temples were crowded with men hammering away as if for dear life. Finally, this interpretation of *opisthodomos* is put beyond doubt by the fact that *opisthodomos* is the name applied to the western porticos of the temples of Zeus<sup>36</sup> and Hera<sup>37</sup> at Olympia. Here there is no room for ambiguity; for the temples exist, though in ruins, to this day, and though both of them have a western portico, neither of them has a western chamber. The interpretation 'western chamber' is therefore excluded.

Since, then, *opisthodomos* was the regular name for the western portico of a temple, there can be no reason for refusing it to the western portico of the Parthenon. Yet Dr. Dörpfeld takes the name from the western portico of the Parthenon, to which it was properly applicable, and transfers it to the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple, to which it is at best doubtful whether it was really appropriate. For it is to be remembered that, though western porticos were exceedingly common in Greek temples, as the remains of them sufficiently attest, western chambers were exceedingly rare; and that whereas the name for the western portico is certain, the name for a western chamber is far from being so. Among extant Greek temples I know of three only which have a chamber opening from the west. They are the Parthenon, the Pre-Persian temple, and the old temple at Corinth. There may be more; Dr. Dörpfeld, out of his abundant knowledge, would doubtless be able to say. Now, in the case of the Parthenon, Dr. Dörpfeld has made it highly probable that the western chamber was called the *parthenon* in the restricted sense of the word. In the case of the old temple at Corinth he has made it equally probable that the western chamber was not a back-room or treasure-chamber, but a separate shrine or *cella*,<sup>38</sup> which could not therefore have been called *opisthodomos*. The

*cellam, ubi sedes dei sunt, Graeci dicunt πρόδομον, quod post δπισθόδομον.*

<sup>34</sup> Pollux (i. 1. 6) under the heading *δ τέρας* in *θεραπεύοντα* (scil. *οἱ θεοὶ*) says: τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, πρόδομος. καὶ τὸ κατ'ἑν, δπισθόδομος. Cp. *Antholog. Palat.* xii. 228, 3 sq.:

οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἀγάλμα θεοῦ καὶ νηὶν ὀρῶμεν ἄντιον, οὐ πᾶσι καὶ τὸν δπισθόδομον.

<sup>35</sup> See K. Bötticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*,<sup>2</sup> § 51, p. 472 sqq. Philostratus calls the eastern portico of the Parthenon *prodomos* ('*Ἀθήνησιν τ' ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*, *Vit. Apollon.* ii. 10), though its official name

was *pronaos*.

<sup>36</sup> xiv. 41.

<sup>37</sup> Pausanias, v. 10. 9; *id.* v. 13. 1; *id.* v. 15. 3; Lucian, *Herodotus*, 1; *id.* *Fugitives*, 7; *id.* *De morte Peregrini*, 32. Some of the reliefs representing the labours of Hercules which have been found at Olympia and are known to have been fixed over the western portico of the temple of Zeus, are described by Pausanias (v. 10. 9) as being 'over the door of the *opisthodomos*.'

<sup>38</sup> Pausanias, v. 16. 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xi. (1886) p. 297 sqq.



Pre-Persian temple alone remains, and Dr. Dörpfeld assumes that the designation of its three western chambers was *opisthodomos*. But I cannot see that he has any positive grounds for this assumption. It may indeed be admitted that the name *opisthodomos*, the regular appellation of the western portico of a temple, would easily be extended to a western chamber opening off it, in the rare cases where such a chamber existed. This in fact seems to have happened in the case of the Parthenon. For Plutarch mentions that, when Demetrius Poliorcetes came to Athens, the obsequious Athenians lodged him 'in the *opisthodomos* of the Parthenon.'<sup>39</sup> Here the *opisthodomos* is most probably the western chamber of the temple, since the Athenians would hardly have lodged their formidable visitor in the open western portico. In the case of the Parthenon this extension of the name *opisthodomos* to the western chamber is easily explained by the fact that in Plutarch's time, and long before it, the true name of the western chamber (namely the *parthenon* in the narrow sense) had been transferred from it to the whole temple. The western chamber, thus deprived of its proper name, would naturally come to share with the western portico the name of *opisthodomos* ('back-building'). But in the case of the Pre-Persian temple we have no evidence that its three western chambers were ever called *opisthodomos*.<sup>40</sup> On the contrary we have positive evidence that shortly before the destruction of the temple by the Persians its western chambers were not so called. For in the official inscription<sup>41</sup> which, by general consent, refers to the Pre-Persian temple as the Hekatompedon, and which dates from shortly before the Persian war, the western chambers of the temple are called, not *opisthodomos*, but simply 'the chambers in the Hekatompedon.' This inscription, discovered since Dr. Dörpfeld first propounded his theory, removes the last excuse for identifying the *opisthodomos* of Attic inscriptions with the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. With its removal, Dr. Dörpfeld's argument for the restoration of the temple, based on the mention of the *opisthodomos* in inscriptions, falls to the ground. The argument, in fact, rests on a simple misnomer.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 23, cp. 26, and *Compar. Demetr. et Anton.* 4.

<sup>40</sup> I am unable to admit Dr. Dörpfeld's argument that the expressions *ἐν τῇ ἐκ δεξιᾶ τοῦ θνατοδόμενου* and *ἐν τῇ ἐκ ἀριστερᾶ σελ.* τοῦ θνατοδόμενου (*C.I.A.* i. No. 32) refer to the two small inner chambers in the western half of the Pre-Persian temple. For the natural interpretation of these words is 'in the right-hand side of the *opisthodomos*' and 'in the left-hand side of the *opisthodomos*.' This was formerly Dr. Dörpfeld's own interpretation of the passage (*Mittheilungen*, vi. p. 300), and I feel sure that it will commend itself to all unprejudiced scholars.

<sup>41</sup> *C.I.A.* iv. p. 137 sqq. See above p. 162, note 24.

<sup>42</sup> In the foregoing discussion of the *opistho-*

*domos* argument I have assumed that Dr. Dörpfeld, in bestowing the name *opisthodomos* on the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple, refuses it to the western portico of the Parthenon. But suppose he admits that the western portico of the Parthenon was also called *opisthodomos*. It will follow, on his theory, that there were two, or rather three, *opisthodomoi* on the Acropolis simultaneously, namely the western portico of the Parthenon, the western portico of the Pre-Persian temple, and the western chambers of the latter temple. Yet all our authorities, literary and epigraphical, speak as if there were only one *opisthodomos* on the Acropolis. Thus whether Dr. Dörpfeld admits or whether he denies (and he must do one or the other) that the western portico of the Parthenon was called *opisthodo-*



(iii.) The 'old temple' argument. Dr. Dörpfeld argues, on the strength of Homer's testimony, that the Pre-Persian temple was the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis, existing side by side with, though separate from, a small temple of Erechtheus. And he maintains that 'the ancient temple of Athena' which was burnt in 406 B.C. and the 'old temple' mentioned on inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. must have been the restored Pre-Persian temple, which, by comparison with the Parthenon completed about 438 B.C., would naturally be called 'the old temple.'

Let us take Homer's testimony first. In opposition to Dr. Dörpfeld it has been rightly maintained by Mr. Eugen Petersen<sup>43</sup> that Homer's evidence points clearly, not to two separate temples of Athena and Erechtheus, but to a single joint temple in which they were worshipped together. In the first of the two passages of Homer cited by Dr. Dörpfeld<sup>44</sup> it is said that Athena, after appearing to Ulysses in the island of Scheria, departed to Athens, where she 'went into the strong house of Erechtheus.' The poet seems to represent 'the house of Erechtheus' as the home of Athena, whither she returned after her expedition to Scheria. In the second passage<sup>45</sup> it is said that Athena settled Erechtheus in her own rich temple in Athens, where bulls and lambs were periodically sacrificed to him. About this latter passage there is no ambiguity. It is a plain statement that Erechtheus was worshipped in the temple of Athena.<sup>46</sup> The first passage, though not so unambiguous, seems to imply that Athena was worshipped in the house or temple of Erechtheus. The two passages are obviously reconcilable on the hypothesis that in the Homeric age Athena and Erechtheus were worshipped on the Acropolis at Athens in a single joint temple, which might be called either the temple of Erechtheus or the temple of Athena, according as the speaker regarded Erechtheus or Athena as the original inmate of the shrine. Such a temple was the Erechtheum. In it Erechtheus was worshipped in one chamber and Athena in another; and the building was accordingly sometimes called the Erechtheum and sometimes (as we shall see) the temple of Athena Polias. Thus the Erechtheum answers exactly to Homer's account of the shrines on the Acropolis; and we may accordingly assume that when the Homeric poems were composed the old Erechtheum was the only temple on the Acropolis.

mos, his theory of the co-existence of the Pre-Persian temple and the Parthenon seems equally to involve him in inextricable difficulties.

<sup>43</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> *Od.* vii. 78-81.

<sup>45</sup> *Il.* ii. 549-551.

<sup>46</sup> This statement is clearly fatal to Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion that the new Erechtheum, built towards the close of the fifth century B.C., was the first joint temple of Athena and Erechtheus on the Acropolis. Dr. Dörpfeld attempts to evade this difficulty by supposing Homer to mean that Erechtheus was worshipped within the

sacred precinct (*lepds*) of Athena, though not within her temple; he thinks that there were two temples, one of Athena and another of Erechtheus, standing within an enclosure sacred to Athena (*Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 199, 207). But this view is quite irreconcilable with the language of Homer, who says plainly that Athena settled Erechtheus in her own temple (*vñds*); for *vñds* (*veús*, *vads*) always means either a temple or a part of a temple (namely the *cella*), never a sacred precinct or sanctuary (*tráuevos*, *lepds*).



This inference that the original Erechtheum was the oldest temple on the Acropolis is confirmed by other considerations. In the first place the Erechtheum was associated with the most ancient legends of Athens. When the Athenians wished to relate the very beginning of their history they told the legend of the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the country. This contest was believed to have taken place on the site of the Erechtheum; for within its precincts were the quarled olive-tree, the salt well, and the mark of the trident on the rock which Athena and Poseidon had respectively produced as evidence of their title to the land;<sup>47</sup> and here, when the contest was over, the two rivals were worshipped peacefully together.<sup>48</sup> Further, the ancient wooden image of Athena, the oldest of all her images in Athens, was preserved in the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum;<sup>49</sup> and it is natural to suppose that the oldest image was kept in the oldest temple. The golden lamp, too, which burned day and night, year in year out, in the chamber with the ancient image,<sup>50</sup> suggests that this was the holiest of all the shrines of Athens; and if the holiest it must almost certainly have been the oldest. Lastly, the peculiar ground-plan of the Erechtheum, which is unique among Greek temples, speaks strongly in favour of its remote antiquity. The existing temple, indeed, dates only from the end of the fifth century B.C.; but its singular arrangement (notably the difference of level between its eastern and western chambers) seems to be explicable only on the hypothesis that it occupies the site and closely reproduces the plan of the original temple burnt by the Persians, motives of religious conservatism having operated to prevent any important modification of site or plan. Thus we may conclude that the original Erechtheum, a joint temple of Erechtheus and Athena, was the oldest temple on the Acropolis and that the Pre-Persian temple must have been built later, perhaps in the seventh or sixth century B.C.

Hence, when in official Attic inscriptions of the first half of the fifth century B.C. we find mention of 'the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis'<sup>51</sup> or of 'the old temple,'<sup>52</sup> it is natural to suppose that the reference is to the old Erechtheum. Two such inscriptions have come down to us; and as one of them, which mentions 'the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis,' is certainly older than 456 B.C., and the present Parthenon was not begun until 447 B.C.,<sup>53</sup> it follows that there was on the Acropolis a temple officially

<sup>47</sup> Herodotus, viii. 55; Pausanias, i. 26. 5; *id.* i. 27. 2; Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Erechtheus was identified with Poseidon. See the evidence in Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausanias descriptio arcis Athenarum*, p. 23.

<sup>49</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 322; Pausanias, i. 26. 6; *cp.* Apollodorus, iii. 14. 6.

<sup>50</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 6 *sq.* The lamp itself was comparatively modern, but the custom probably went back to the earliest days of Athens.

<sup>51</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 1, supplemented in *C.I.A.* iv. p. 3 *sq.* See above p. 162, note 25.

<sup>52</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 93, line 5 *sq.* [ἡρώδης] αὐτῶν ἐν στή(λῃ βόρρῃ)θέρ τοῦ νεῦ τοῦ ἀρχ[αίου]. The inscription, according to Prof. Kirchhoff, contains a decree 'quod quamquam vetustum videtur non nimis antiquo tamen tempore lapidi incisum est.' From this I infer that in Prof. Kirchhoff's opinion the decree, if not the inscription, dates from not later than the middle of the fifth century B.C. This is enough for the argument in the text; the date when the inscription was cut does not concern us.

<sup>53</sup> See above p. 156, note .



called 'the old temple of Athena' some years at least before the present Parthenon was begun. This 'old temple of Athena' cannot have been the Pre-Persian temple, for the official title of the latter was the Hekatompedon.<sup>54</sup> It must, therefore, have been the Erechtheum, since we have no evidence that at this period there were more than two temples on the Acropolis. But if the Erechtheum was called 'the old temple of Athena' before the Parthenon was begun, it must have been so called by comparison with the Pre-Persian temple or Hekatompedon; from which it follows that, as we have already deduced from Homer's evidence, the Erechtheum was the older temple of the two.

The two inscriptions just discussed do not imply that the 'old temple of Athena' or 'the old temple' which they mention was entire and in use. One of them<sup>55</sup> directs that certain sacred money shall be kept 'in the enclosure to the south (?) of the old temple of Athena.' The other<sup>56</sup> directs that an inscription shall be set up 'to the north (?) of the old temple.' If these inscriptions date from after the Persian war, only the blackened walls of the 'old temple' or Erechtheum would probably be standing at the time; and the inscriptions do not imply more than this. Nor does the designation of the Erechtheum as 'the old temple of Athena' on inscriptions soon after the Persian war imply that the Pre-Persian temple or Hekatompedon, by comparison with which the Erechtheum was called 'old,' was still standing. If the official title of the Erechtheum had been 'the old temple of Athena' before the war, it would continue to be so afterwards, even when the Pre-Persian temple or Hekatompedon had been razed to the ground.

These two inscriptions, then, raise a presumption that in the first half of the fifth century B.C., even before the Persian war, the Erechtheum was officially known as 'the old temple of Athena.' But the mutilated state of the inscriptions and the uncertainty as to their precise date prevent this presumption from amounting to a proof.

After its destruction in 480 B.C. the Erechtheum was not, so far as we know, rebuilt till towards the close of the fifth century B.C. From a well-known inscription<sup>57</sup> we learn that in 409/8 B.C. the new Erechtheum, then approaching completion, was still without a roof. It can hardly, therefore, have been finished before the following year. Relying on the evidence of some inscriptions which came to light a few years ago, Prof. A. Michaelis concludes that the temple was completed in the summer of 408 B.C.<sup>58</sup> Only two years later, in 406 B.C., 'the ancient temple of Athena at Athens was burnt,' to quote the words of Xenophon.<sup>59</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that this 'ancient temple of Athena' cannot have been the

<sup>54</sup> See above p. 162, note 24.

<sup>55</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 1, supplemented in *C.I.A.* iv. p. 3 sq.

<sup>56</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 93.

<sup>57</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 322; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part I. No. XXXV.

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<sup>58</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xiv. (1889) p. 349 sqq. For the inscriptions see *C.I.A.* iv. p. 148 sqq.; *Δελτίον αρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, p. 87 sqq.; *Mittheilungen*, xiii. (1888) p. 229 sqq.

<sup>59</sup> *Hellenica*, i. 6. 1.



Erechtheum, since that temple was only about two years old at the time. Certainly the actual temple was new, but as it replaced a very ancient one, the oldest of all Athena's temples, there would be nothing surprising or unusual if the new temple, standing on the site and carrying on the associations and traditions of its venerable predecessor, should very soon be known as the 'ancient' or 'old temple of Athena,' to distinguish it from the Parthenon, a new temple on a new site. Probably almost every old city could furnish one or more examples of a similar anomaly. Mr. H. N. Fowler<sup>60</sup> has cited the case of a new church in Boston which is called the 'New Old South' or simply the 'Old South,' because it succeeded to a church called the 'Old South,' and that though the new church stands in quite a different part of the town. The church, in fact, is neither old nor south, yet it is called both because its predecessor was so.

But Dr. Dörpfeld has other arguments to prove that 'the ancient temple of Athena' which was burnt in 406 B.C. cannot have been, as scholars used to suppose, the Erechtheum. One of his arguments is that on the official inscription of 409/8 B.C., which contains the report of the commissioners on the progress of the new Erechtheum, the temple is called, not 'the old temple of Athena,' but 'the temple in which is the old image';<sup>61</sup> and he appears to hold that 'the temple in which is the old image' was always the official designation of the Erechtheum. If this was indeed the official title of the Erechtheum, it is very remarkable that it should never occur again in a single inscription or in a single passage of an ancient writer. Is it credible that the regular official title of the Erechtheum should occur only once in the long series of official documents relating to the Acropolis which has come down to us? On the other hand, the isolated occurrence on a single inscription of the phrase 'the temple in which is the old image' as an appellation of the Erechtheum can be explained very simply if we regard the phrase, not as the regular title of the temple, but as a temporary one adopted while the new edifice was building. The inscription in which the phrase occurs contains a report by certain public commissioners on the unfinished state of the new temple. In such a document the commissioners could hardly designate as 'old' a building which was in process of construction and on the unfinished state of which they were actually reporting. The anomaly of describing the building as 'old' in such circumstances would have been too glaring. Accordingly the commissioners chose a title which better accorded with the facts and called it 'the temple in which is the old image.' But this cumbersome title was probably a temporary one and would be dropped as soon as the temple was finished. Certainly the title does not occur on a single inscription after the completion of the temple. On its completion the new Erechtheum would naturally assume in official as well as popular language the name of 'the old temple of Athena' in virtue of succeeding to the site, the functions, and the traditions of the most ancient temple of Athena on the Acropolis.

<sup>60</sup> *American Journal of Archaeology*, viii. (1893) p. 13 note.

<sup>61</sup> τῷ τεῖς τοῦ ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶδός, *C.I.A.* i. No. 322.



Further, Dr. Dörpfeld argues that 'the ancient temple of Athena' burnt in 406 B.C. cannot have been the Erechtheum but must have been the Pre-Persian temple, because the fire of 406 B.C. was identical with one mentioned by Demosthenes as having taken place in the *opisthodomos*,<sup>62</sup> which Dr. Dörpfeld identifies with the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. If Dr. Dörpfeld could indeed prove that the fire in 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C. was identical with the fire in the *opisthodomos*, he would at least have made it certain that 'the ancient temple of Athena' was not the Erechtheum, since the Erechtheum had no *opisthodomos*. But we know that the fires were not identical. For in the passage in which he mentions the fire in the *opisthodomos* Demosthenes is giving a list of men of high position who had been imprisoned for offences against the state since the archonship of Euclides (403/2 B.C.), and among them he mentions the two boards of treasurers (the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of the other gods) who had been imprisoned on account of the fire in the *opisthodomos*. It follows that the fire in the *opisthodomos* was later than 403/2 B.C. and cannot have been identical with the fire in 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C.<sup>63</sup>

The view that the conflagration of 406 B.C. took place in the Erechtheum is confirmed by an inscription of 395/4 B.C. which relates to the restoration of a burnt temple.<sup>64</sup> The inscription is mutilated, but an expression which occurs in it makes it tolerably certain that the burnt temple referred to in the inscription is the Erechtheum. That eleven years should have elapsed between the burning of the temple and its restoration is not surprising when we reflect that in the interval Athens had been besieged and captured by a foreign foe, had languished under the tyranny of the Thirty, and had experienced the horrors of civil war. How soon after 395/4 B.C. the restoration of the temple was completed we do not know. It must have been finished before 376/5 B.C., for a treasure-list of that year<sup>65</sup> makes mention of a piece of gold plate which was kept in 'the old temple.' The temple is mentioned again under the same title in treasure-lists and other inscriptions of the fourth century B.C.<sup>66</sup> At a much later date an inscription<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Demosthenes, xxiv. 136, p. 743.

<sup>63</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld attempts to meet this objection by drawing a distinction between the first and the second part of Demosthenes' list of state offenders (*Mitteilungen*, xii. p. 44). But I cannot see that the distinction exists. If the union of the two boards of treasurers (the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of the other gods) took place in 406 B.C., as some suppose (Lolling, in *'Athenâ*, ii. p. 649; cp. G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer*<sup>3</sup>, i. p. 270), this would be another proof that the fire in the *opisthodomos* could not have happened in that year, since the words of Demosthenes show that at the time of the fire the two boards of treasurers existed separately. But the earliest

mention of the united board of treasurers is on an inscription of 403/2 B.C. (*Εφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1885, p. 129). By 385/4 B.C. the separate boards again existed (*C.I.A.* ii. No. 687).

<sup>64</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 829. The expression referred to in the text is *κατὰ τὸ Πατρόσιον*, 'on the side of the Pandrosium.' The Pandrosium adjoined the Erechtheum on the west (Pausanias, i. 27. 2). A similar expression (*πρὸς τὸ Πατρόσιον*) occurs repeatedly on inscriptions which admittedly refer to the building of the Erechtheum (*C.I.A.* i. No. 322; *C.I.A.* iv. p. 151).

<sup>65</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 672.

<sup>66</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 74, 163, 733, 758.

<sup>67</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 464.



records the setting up of a statue beside 'the old temple of Athena Polias. That the 'old temple of Athena Polias' was identical with the 'old temple' of the earlier inscriptions is highly probable; and that it was the Erechtheum may be taken as certain, since Strabo mentions the Erechtheum under the title of 'the old temple of the Polias.'<sup>68</sup>

Thus on the hypothesis that the 'old temple' of the inscriptions and of classical writers was the Erechtheum, all is clear and consistent. Not so on Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis that the 'old temple' was the restored Pre-Persian temple. If the 'old temple' of the inscriptions was the restored Pre-Persian temple which had been used as a treasury since shortly after 480 B.C. and had been known as 'the old temple' ever since the Parthenon was built or even planned,<sup>69</sup> how is it that the first mention of 'the old temple' as a receptacle for treasures occurs on an inscription of 376 B.C., about a century after the supposed restoration of the temple? This long silence of the inscriptions is difficult to explain on Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis. But it is natural and indeed necessary on the hypothesis that 'the old temple' was the Erechtheum; since the Erechtheum, after its destruction in 480 B.C., was not rebuilt till about 408 B.C., was destroyed by fire shortly afterwards,<sup>70</sup> and was still rebuilding in 395/4 B.C. Thus in regard to the two expressions 'old temple' and *opisthodomos*, on which Dr. Dörpfeld lays so much stress as designations of the restored Pre-Persian temple and of a part of it respectively, it is most significant that *the expression opisthodomos does not occur on treasure-lists till after the completion of the Parthenon, and that the expression 'old temple' does not occur on them till after the completion of the Erechtheum*. This is not only intelligible but necessary if *opisthodomos* designated a part of the Parthenon, and 'old temple' designated the Erechtheum. But it is hardly intelligible and certainly not necessary if *opisthodomos* and 'old temple' designated respectively a part and the whole of the Pre-Persian temple which had been restored and used as a treasury from soon after 480 B.C.

But this is not the only difficulty in the way of Dr. Dörpfeld's identification of the 'old temple' with the restored Pre-Persian temple. On his hypothesis the *opisthodomos* or western half of the Pre-Persian temple was burnt in 406 B.C. and its restoration after the fire is referred to in an inscription<sup>71</sup> which Prof. U. Köhler dates in 395/4 B.C. But we know from another inscription<sup>72</sup> that the *opisthodomos* was in use as a treasury in 398/7 B.C. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld is obliged to alter conjecturally the date of the

<sup>68</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 326. See below p. 173.

<sup>69</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld holds that 'the old temple of Athena' mentioned in an inscription dating from before 456 B.C. (*C.I.A.* i. No. 1; *C.I.A.* iv. p. 3 sq.) is the Pre-Persian temple. He must therefore suppose that the name 'the old temple' was given to the restored Pre-Persian temple before the existing Parthenon was begun, presumably at the time when Cimon began building the older Parthenon. We have

seen that this inscription affords no evidence of the use of 'the old temple' as a treasury at the time when the inscription was engraved (see above p. 169).

<sup>70</sup> This is proved by *C.I.A.* ii. No. 829, independently of the disputed evidence of Xenophon (*Hellenica*, i. 6. 1).

<sup>71</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 829.

<sup>72</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 652.



former inscription from 395 B.C. to some time before 398 B.C. The grounds for dating the inscription in 395 B.C. are, indeed, slight;<sup>73</sup> but so far as they go they are against Dr. Dörpfeld's theory, and the editor of the inscription (Prof. U. Köhler) appears to have no doubt as to its date. Moreover Dr. Dörpfeld is obliged to do further violence to the same inscription by interpreting the expression *κατὰ τὸ Παρθρόρειον* in it as a direction given from the standpoint of the Pre-Persian temple instead of, as it is much more naturally taken, from the standpoint of the Erechtheum.<sup>74</sup>

Again, we have seen that the fire in 'the ancient temple of Athena' and the fire in the *opisthodomos* were distinct conflagrations. Hence if 'the ancient temple of Athena' was the Pre-Persian temple and the *opisthodomos* was its western chambers, it will follow that the Pre-Persian temple was twice burnt and twice restored between 406 B.C. and 353 B.C.<sup>75</sup> If to these conflagrations and restorations we add the burning of the temple by the Persians in 480 B.C. and its supposed restoration shortly afterwards, it results that this unfortunate temple was thrice burnt and thrice restored within about a century. And yet not a stone of this triple restoration remains. Fate, which has left us much of the temple as it was before its destruction in 480 B.C., has carefully obliterated every trace of its three subsequent restorations.

Lastly, Dr. Dörpfeld is confronted with the difficulty that Strabo calls the temple which contained the perpetual lamp 'the old temple of the Polias,'<sup>76</sup> and that the perpetual lamp is known to have been in the Erechtheum;<sup>77</sup> from which the inference seems inevitable that in Strabo's opinion the Erechtheum was 'the old temple' of Athena. In his first paper on the history of the Pre-Persian temple Dr. Dörpfeld himself admitted that this inference was indubitable.<sup>78</sup> Yet in his second paper he not only doubted but denied the inference, maintaining that Strabo rightly described the Pre-Persian temple as 'the old temple of the Polias,' but wrongly supposed it to have contained the perpetual lamp.<sup>79a</sup> It is a necessary corollary of Dr. Dörpfeld's present interpretation of the passage that Strabo, who describes only two temples on the Acropolis (the Parthenon and 'the old temple of the Polias') omitted all mention of the unique and beautiful Erechtheum, the shrine of the most venerable monuments of Athenian history, and that too though he mentions the perpetual lamp which is known to have been in it.

Such are some of the difficulties which beset Dr. Dörpfeld's attempt to identify the 'old temple' of the inscriptions and of classical writers (Xenophon, Strabo) with the Pre-Persian temple. To me these difficulties appear far greater than those which attend the current view that the 'old

<sup>73</sup> Only a single letter (ι) of the archon's name survives on the inscription.

<sup>74</sup> See above p. 171, note 64.

<sup>75</sup> The speech of Demosthenes (*Against Timocrates*), in which the fire in the *opisthodomos* is mentioned, was composed in the archonship of

Eudemus (353/2 B.C.).

<sup>76</sup> Strabo, ix. p. 396.

<sup>77</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 6 sq.

<sup>78</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 48.

<sup>79a</sup> *ib.* p. 199.



temple' was the Erechtheum. I therefore accept the current view and reject Dr. Dörpfeld's 'old temple' argument for the restoration and continuance of the Pre-Persian temple.

(iv.) The Polias argument. Dr. Dörpfeld argues that the Pre-Persian temple must have been restored and must have subsisted down to the Roman period at least, since it is mentioned by the later writers of antiquity under the title of 'the temple of Athena Polias' or 'the temple of the Polias.'

The current opinion of scholars has hitherto been that the expression 'the temple of Athena Polias' or, more briefly, 'the temple of the Polias' always meant the Erechtheum, the name being given to it because its eastern chamber had been from the earliest times the shrine of the ancient wooden image to which alone belonged the title of Athena Polias. If, then, Dr. Dörpfeld's Polias argument for the restoration of the Pre-Persian temple is to hold good, he must prove that the current view which restricts the name 'temple of Athena Polias' to the Erechtheum is incorrect; he must prove that the Pre-Persian temple was also a temple of Athena Polias. This he attempts to do. He says: 'In the fifth and fourth centuries the Parthenon was officially called either "the temple" or "the temple of Athena Polias." Before the building of the Parthenon, its predecessor the old Athena temple (Pre-Persian temple) must have borne the same official titles, namely the short title "the temple," the fuller title "the temple of Athena," and the exact title "the temple of Athena Polias."'<sup>79</sup> Thus Dr. Dörpfeld's view that the Pre-Persian temple was a temple of Athena Polias appears to be a simple deduction from his view that the Parthenon was so. The question therefore reduces itself to this: What is the evidence that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias?

Although Dr. Dörpfeld affirms, in the passage just quoted, that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the full official title of the Parthenon was 'the temple of Athena Polias,' he is unable to quote a single inscription, official or otherwise, of these two centuries in which the expression 'the temple of Athena Polias' occurs at all. Considering the multitude of official documents of the fifth and fourth centuries relating to the Parthenon which have been preserved, the total absence in them of any mention of 'the temple of Athena Polias' raises a presumption, very difficult to rebut, that this cannot have been the official title of the Parthenon. In point of fact, in the whole range of Attic inscriptions from the earliest to the latest times, the expression 'the temple of Athena Polias' appears to occur only once,

<sup>79</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xli, p. 126. Since Dr. Dörpfeld wrote this passage, the discovery of an inscription (*C.I.A.* iv, p. 137 *sup.*, see above p. 162, note 24) has proved that before its destruction the Pre-Persian temple was officially called, not 'the temple of Athena Polias,' but the Hekatompedon. But I waive this objection,

and readily grant that if the Parthenon was called the temple of Athena Polias, its predecessor the Pre-Persian temple was probably called so too, although it happens not to be so named on the only existing inscription which indisputably refers to the temple.



namely on an inscription of the third century B.C., in which there is absolutely nothing to show to which of the temples on the Acropolis the expression refers.<sup>50</sup>

Nor does Dr. Dörpfeld, so far as I see, quote a single inscription to prove that the Athena of the Parthenon was called Athena Polias.

If we put aside assumptions repeated by Dr. Dörpfeld again and again, such as that 'if there was a worship in the Parthenon at all, it can only have been a worship of the Polias,'<sup>51</sup> 'the goddess of the citadel, Athena Polias, must have been worshipped in the Parthenon,'<sup>52</sup> 'when we read of the temple of Athena Polias we must assume that the Parthenon is meant,'<sup>53</sup> his arguments to show that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias appear to reduce themselves to three.

(a) 'That Athena Parthenos was the Polias is shown by a comparison of Aristophanes, *Birds*, 826 with *Thesmoph.* 1136.'<sup>54</sup> I am unable to admit this inference. In one of the two passages cited Athena Polias is mentioned;<sup>55</sup> in the other Athena is addressed under a number of complimentary names, one of which is Parthenos.<sup>56</sup> But the passages, occurring in separate comedies, are wholly disconnected, and a comparison of them proves nothing as to the identity of Athena Parthenos with Athena Polias.

(b) From an expression 'the old temple of Athena Polias,' which is conjecturally restored on an inscription of about 100 B.C.,<sup>57</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld infers that there must have been a new temple of Athena Polias and that this new temple was the Parthenon.<sup>58</sup> The argument, even if we grant the correctness of the conjectural restoration on which it rests, does not seem to amount to much. We may allow that the expression 'the old temple of Athena Polias' probably implies a new temple of Athena, but it is not absolutely necessary that this new temple should have been a temple of

<sup>50</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 332. The inscription contains a provision that a treaty of alliance shall be engraved on a bronze plate and set up 'on the Acropolis beside the temple of Athena Polias.' Dr. Dörpfeld assumes that the reference is to the Parthenon, but there is nothing in the inscription to justify the assumption. The expression 'temple of Athena Polias' is conjecturally restored by Prof. U. Köhler in another inscription, apparently of the first century B.C., which directs that a decree in honour of the girls who prepared the wool for Athena's robe shall be engraved on a tablet of stone and set up *ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας Πολιάδος* . . . . .]. See *Mittheilungen*, viii. (1883) p. 59. If the restoration could be proved to be correct, it would go to show that the temple referred to was not the Parthenon but the Erechtheum. See below p. 178 *sqq.*

<sup>51</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 192.

<sup>52</sup> *Ib.* p. 193.

<sup>53</sup> *Mittheilungen*, p. 193.

<sup>54</sup> *Ib.* p. 192.

<sup>55</sup> ΕΠ. Λισσάρην τὸ χρῆμα τῆς πόλεως. τίς δὲ Πολιάδος θεῶς πολιοῦχος ἵσταται; τῷ ξαννοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον;

ΠΕ. τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἐῷμεν Πολιάδα;  
Aristophanes, *Birds*, 826 *sqq.*

<sup>56</sup> ΧΟ. Παλλάδα τῆς φιλόχαρον ἐμοὶ  
δεῖρο καλεῖν νόμος ἐς χορὸν  
παρθένον, ἄξιν γὰρ κοῦρην,  
ἣ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει  
καὶ κράτος φανερόν μοι, τῷ  
κλῆροῦχός τε καλεῖται.

*Id.* *Thesmoph.* 1136 *sqq.*

<sup>57</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 464. The inscription contains a decree for the erection of a statue of Ptolemy VIII. (117–81 B.C.) [παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας τῆς Πολιάδος . . .].

<sup>58</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 194.



Athena Polias; it might have been a temple of Athena simply, or a temple of Athena under some other title, such as Parthenos. The opposition between an 'old temple of Athena Polias' and a 'new temple of Athena' is not strict, but it is sufficiently intelligible for popular or even official language.

(c) Dr. Dörpfeld's last argument to show that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias is this: 'The votive offerings which were preserved in the chambers of the great temple (the Parthenon) belonged for the most part to Athena Polias.'<sup>89</sup> What the evidence for this statement is, I have failed to discover. Scholars are aware that lists of hundreds of votive offerings belonging to Athena and stored in the Parthenon have been handed down to us in inscriptions. With the help of the Indices to the *Corpus* of Attic Inscriptions, I have made a list of all the votive offerings which are expressly designated in these lists as the property of Athena Polias, whether preserved in the Parthenon or elsewhere. Here it is:—

One animal's head.<sup>90</sup>

Silver water-jugs (number not specified),<sup>91</sup> some of them new.<sup>92</sup>

One silver tablet.<sup>93</sup>

One silver wash-hand basin.<sup>94</sup>

Two silver cups.<sup>95</sup>

Two offerings of Roxana, wife of Alexander the Great.<sup>96</sup>

This is all. Of these offerings one only (the first) is known to have been in the Parthenon. The two silver cups are proved by a comparison with another inscription<sup>97</sup> to have been in the 'old temple.' The place where the rest were stored is not mentioned. Thus the number of votive offerings of Athena Polias which are known to have been kept in the Parthenon amounts to one. How in these circumstances Dr. Dörpfeld is able to affirm that most of the votive offerings in the Parthenon belonged to Athena Polias, I am at a loss to understand.

The presence in the Parthenon of a single offering dedicated to Athena Polias, or even of a few such offerings (for I have no objection to add, though the concession is gratuitous, the wash-hand basin, the water-jugs, the tablet, and the two offerings of Roxana), cannot prove that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias. For by an exactly similar argument it might be proved that the Parthenon was a temple of Zeus Polieus, or of Brauronian Artemis, or of Hercules, or of all three together, since votive offerings dedicated to these three divinities are known from inscriptions to have been kept in it.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>89</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 194.

<sup>90</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 649.

<sup>91</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 678.

<sup>92</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 699.

<sup>93</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 724.

<sup>94</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 724.

<sup>95</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 735.

<sup>96</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 737 (where the epithet *Ro-*

*xiāxi* is in both cases a conjectural supplement of the editor's, the inscription being mutilated).

<sup>97</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 733.

<sup>98</sup> Zeus Polieus, *C.I.A.* i. Nos. 149, 151, 153-159; *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 649, 652, 660. Brauronian Artemis, *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 646, 652, 654, 660, 661. Hercules, *C.I.A.* i. Nos. 165, 166, 167.



Thus the evidence adduced by Dr. Dörpfeld to prove that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias may be pronounced inadequate. As his view that the Pre-Persian temple was a temple of Athena Polias is merely a deduction from his supposed demonstration that the Parthenon was so, it necessarily shares the weakness of the premises from which it is drawn. Yet on the strength of this supposed demonstration Dr. Dörpfeld considers it probable that many later writers of antiquity who speak of the temple of Athena Polias or of the Polias refer to the Pre-Persian temple. But as, on his view, the Parthenon was also a temple of Athena Polias, he admits that 'in writers from Demosthenes downward it cannot always be determined with certainty whether the Parthenon or the Pre-Persian temple is meant by the name "the temple of Athena Polias."' <sup>100</sup> On Dr. Dörpfeld's theory there is another source of ambiguity which he appears to have overlooked. The eastern chamber of the Erechtheum was also called, as he himself admits, 'the temple of the Polias,' <sup>101</sup> because it contained the ancient wooden image of the goddess. Thus on Dr. Dörpfeld's showing there were simultaneously on the Acropolis no less than three buildings to which the expression 'temple of Athena Polias' (or, 'of the Polias') was equally applicable. The ambiguity to which such a state of things would necessarily give rise must have been very perplexing. Yet the writers to whom Dr. Dörpfeld refers speak of 'the temple of the Polias' without qualification, as if they and their readers knew of only one. <sup>102</sup>

In order to determine this question of the proper application of the title Athena Polias or the Polias, I have examined, I believe, all the passages in the *Corpus* of Attic Inscriptions in which the title occurs, as well as all the passages of classical writers bearing on the Athena Polias of Athens <sup>103</sup> which I have been able to find. If I have overlooked any passage it has been through inadvertence. It may contribute to the solution of the question, which is of some importance for the history of Athenian religion and for the topography of the Acropolis, if I here set down the results of my enquiry. <sup>102</sup>

In the first place, then, there are a good many passages both of inscriptions and of classical writers, which mention Athena Polias, without, so far as I see, furnishing any indication as to whether she was the goddess of the Erech-

<sup>100</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 198.

<sup>101</sup> *Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 198, 203. Dr. Dörpfeld no doubt holds that the expression *ναὸς τῆς Πολιδέας*, as applied to the Erechtheum, designates only the eastern *cella* (*naos*) of the temple, whereas the same expression applied to the Parthenon and the Pre-Persian temple designates the whole temple. But this does not alter the ambiguity of the expression, which is the same in all three applications.

<sup>102</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dr. Dörpfeld should have said Philochorus), Clement of Alexandria, and Himerius. The passages of these writers will be examined presently.

<sup>103</sup> Other cities besides Athens had sanctu-

aries of Athena Polias. See Pausanias, ii. 30. 6; *id.* vii. 5. 2; *id.* viii. 31. 5; *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. xiii. (1866) p. 354; *id.* N.S. xv. (1867) p. 219; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, v. (1881) p. 337; W. Dittenberger, 'De sacris Rhodiorum commentatio altera,' in *Index Scholarum* (Halle, 1887) p. iii. *sqq.*; *id.* *Sylloge Ins. Græc.* Nos. 117, 193; Hick's *Gr. Hist. Ins.* No. 124; *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, Vorläufiger Bericht (Berlin, 1880), p. 76 *sq.*

<sup>104</sup> Most of the passages of classical writers are collected in Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausanias descriptio arcis Athenarum*. A few more have been furnished by Michaelis' *Der Parthenon* and Pape's *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*.



theum, the Parthenon, or the Pre-Persian temple. They may therefore be left out of account.<sup>103</sup> But when these passages have been eliminated, there remain many others which help to determine the proper application of the title Athena Polias.

Herodotus tells us<sup>104</sup> that at some time before the conquest of Aegina by Athens the Epidaurians begged from the Athenians a piece of the sacred olive-wood in order to make two images out of it, and that the Athenians granted the request on condition that the Epidaurians should send yearly sacrifices to Athena Polias and Erechtheus. This conjunction of Athena Polias with Erechtheus strongly suggests that Athena Polias is here the Athena who shared the Erechtheum with Erechtheus. And this is confirmed by another consideration. The yearly sacrifices which the Epidaurians were to offer to Athena Polias and Erechtheus were to be a return or equivalent for the gift of the sacred olive-wood. Now the Athena of the Erechtheum, above all other Athenas, was intimately associated with the olive. The original olive-tree which she had produced in her contest with Poseidon grew within the precincts of the Erechtheum; and her own most ancient image in that temple was of olive-wood.<sup>105</sup> To no other Athena, therefore, could the thank-offerings of the Epidaurians for the gift of the olive-wood be so fitly presented as to the Athena of the Erechtheum. Hence we may take it as fairly certain that by Athena Polias in this passage Herodotus means the Athena of the Erechtheum.

Aristophanes, in a passage which has been already quoted,<sup>106</sup> plainly implies that the robe, which is known to have been woven and presented to an image of Athena on the Acropolis at the great Panathenaic festival every fourth year,<sup>107</sup> was woven for Athena Polias; and what is only implied by him is expressly stated by the scholiast on the passage and confirmed by other writers.<sup>108</sup> Was then the Athena Polias to whom the robe was presented the Athena of the Parthenon, the Athena of the Pre-Persian temple, or the Athena of the Erechtheum? Apparently she was the Athena of the Erechtheum; for the robe was woven or at least begun by two of the four girls, called *arrephoroi* or *errephoroi*,<sup>109</sup> who were attached to the service of the Erechtheum and dwelt not far from the temple.<sup>110</sup> This is confirmed

<sup>103</sup> The passages are *C.I.A.* i. Nos. 188, 190, 273; *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 576 (p. 403), 163, 332, 465 b (p. 419), 649, 678, 699, 724, 737, 1171, 1420, 1430, 1439; *C.I.A.* iii. Nos. 133, 174, 826, 931, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1062, 2853, 3907; *C.I.A.* iv. No. 279 a (p. 36); 'Ερμπεύς ἀρχαιολογικά, 1884, p. 167 sq.; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 124; Dinarchus, i. 64; Plutarch, *Præcept. gerend. reipub.* 5; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* xxii. 451, p. 1384.

<sup>104</sup> v. 82.

<sup>105</sup> Schol. on Demosthenes, xxii. 13, p. 597; Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 17.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibids.*, 826 sqq. See above p. 175, note 85.

<sup>107</sup> The passages of ancient writers are collected by Prof. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p.

328 sq. Some authorities (Diodorus xx. 46; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 566) say that a robe was presented annually. But the better authorities are in favour of the view that it was presented only every fourth year. To the passages cited by Prof. Michaelis add Aristotle, *At. pol.* 49 and 60.

<sup>108</sup> Zenobius, i. 56; Diogenianus, ii. 7.

<sup>109</sup> Harpocration, s.v. ἀρρηφοραῖν; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 149, s.v. ἀρρηφοραῖν.

<sup>110</sup> Pausanias, i. 27. 3. Pausanias seems to have been mistaken as to the number of the *arrephoroi*, for he speaks of only two. Perhaps he confined the name to the two who did not weave the robe.



by other considerations. The custom seems to have been not only to present the garment to the goddess but to clothe her image in it;<sup>111</sup> and such a custom, bearing the marks of high antiquity, would most probably be practised on Athena's oldest image, namely the very ancient wooden idol in the Erechtheum. We read in Homer<sup>112</sup> that the Trojan priestess of Athena placed a fine robe on the knees of the image to induce the goddess to save the beleaguered city. And the Greek images which are historically known to have worn real clothes seem generally to have been remarkable for their great age. Thus the very ancient image of Apollo at Amyclae, which resembled a bronze pillar, had a new coat every year, which the women wove for the idol in a special chamber.<sup>113</sup> Every fourth year a college of sixteen women wove a robe for the image of Hera at Olympia.<sup>114</sup> That the image was ancient we are not told<sup>115</sup>; but as the temple in which it stood was apparently the oldest in Olympia, having been originally a structure with mud walls and wooden pillars,<sup>116</sup> the custom of weaving the robe for the image was doubtless of great antiquity. Before setting to work at the loom the women had to purify themselves with pig's blood and water—a mark of an ancient rite. Again, the curious bronze statue of a man leaning on a spear, which stood in the busiest quarter of the city of Elis, was clothed in a garment of fine linen which appears to have been renewed from time to time. That the image was of an antique Eastern pattern seems proved by its history and the title of Satrap which it bore.<sup>117</sup> The ancient image of Hera at Samos<sup>118</sup> possessed a large wardrobe of garments of many hues—white, blue, crimson, purple, and pied, some of them much the worse for wear.<sup>119</sup> The image of Dione at Dodona seems to have been arrayed in fresh garments from time to time;

<sup>111</sup> *C.I.A.* i. No. 93 [ἀφιερωθῆσαν τῇ θεῇ Ἀθηνᾷ]. The inscription is fragmentary, but the reference seems to be to the putting of the robe on the image of Athena. Moreover there were officials called *praxitelegidai* whose business it was to clothe the ancient image of Athena (Hesychius, s.v. *πραξιτεργίδαι*).

<sup>112</sup> *Il.* vi. 87 *sqq.*; 302 *sqq.*

<sup>113</sup> Pausanias, iii. 16. 2, iii. 19. 2.

<sup>114</sup> *Id.* v. 16.

<sup>115</sup> The limestone head of a goddess, found in or near the Heraeum at Olympia, has been conjecturally identified as that of the cult-statue of Hera which stood in the temple (Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 307; Banmeister's *Denkmäler*, Fig. 1295, p. 1087). If this conjecture is right, the image of Hera must have been ancient, since the style of the head is very archaic.

<sup>116</sup> See Dr. Dörpfeld in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 159 *sqq.*

<sup>117</sup> Pausanias, vi. 25. 5 *sq.* Pausanias' language (*ισθῆτα—περιβάλλουσι*) points to a custom of renewing the clothes. A Greek inscription con-

taining a dedication to the Satrap God has been found in Phoenicia. See Mr. Clermont-Ganneau, 'Le dieu Satrap,' *Journal Asiatique*, 7me Série, X. (1877) pp. 167-236. Prof. C. Robert appears to have overlooked this bronze statue of the Satrap at Elis, as well as the bronze statue of Apollo at Amyclae, when he assumed that the Greeks would not have put real clothes on a bronze image. His hypothesis of a gold and ivory statue of Brauronian Artemis by the elder Praxiteles is based on this mistaken assumption. See C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 144 *sqq.* The elder Praxiteles is himself a figment of modern archaeologists; the ancients knew no such sculptor. See Prof. H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, Philos. philolog. Cl. 1880, p. 435 *sqq.*; Prof. V. Köhler in *Mittheilungen*, ix. (1884) p. 78 *sqq.*

<sup>117</sup> Pausanias, vii. 4. 4. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 12 *sqq.*

<sup>118</sup> The list of her wardrobe is preserved in inscriptions. See C. Curtius, *Inscriptionen und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos*, pp. 10 *sq.*, 17 *sqq.*



for on one occasion, probably when her clothes were growing shabby, her husband Zeus of Dodona commanded the Athenians in an oracle to adorn her image afresh. The Athenians obeyed and sent a supply of gorgeous raiment in which the image of the goddess was decked out.<sup>118a</sup> From the great antiquity of the worship of Zeus and Dione at Dodona it is safe to infer that the image of Dione was very old; and as along with the rest of the finery the Athenians sent the goddess a new face or mask, it seems probable that the image was of wood. On the Acropolis itself the ancient image of Brauronian Artemis was clad in many robes of various shapes, the offerings of devout women; and the custom was extended to the later image, a work of Praxiteles.<sup>119</sup> These analogies, not to cite others from the customs of barbarous peoples,<sup>120</sup> confirm the view that the image of Athena Polias which was periodically dressed in a new robe must have been the ancient wooden image in the Erechtheum.<sup>121</sup> This probability is still further strengthened by the Dresden Athena,<sup>121a</sup> a statue of a thoroughly archaic type wearing a robe embroidered with the very scenes which are known from ancient writers to have been wrought on the robe which was periodically placed on Athena's image on the Acropolis.<sup>121b</sup> The statue in question is certainly not a copy of the Athena of the Parthenon, the type of which is now familiar to us from the Lenormant and Varvakeion statuettes and the gold medallions of the Hermitage Museum. It can hardly, therefore, be anything but a copy of the archaic Athena of the Erechtheum clothed in the embroidered robe which her handmaidens wove for her. True, the copy is itself not archaic but archaistic, that is, it is a somewhat late copy of a really archaic image, as is shown by the free style of the scenes on the robe compared with the stiffness and constraint of the statue itself. But this only goes to prove that at the comparatively late time when the copy was executed the robe of state continued to be placed, not on the perfect statue of Athena in the Parthenon, but on a far ruder image of the goddess, most probably on her ancient wooden image in the Erechtheum. On the whole, then, we may safely conclude that when, in the passage under discus-

<sup>118a</sup> Hyperides, iii. col. 35-37, p. 43 *sq.* ed. Blass.

<sup>119</sup> *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 751, 754-758; Pausanias, i. 23. 7; Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausanias descriptio arcis Athenarum*, p. 8.

<sup>120</sup> Acosta, *History of the Indies*, book v. ch. 29 (vol. ii. p. 378 Hakluyt Society); J. G. Wood, *Natural History of Man*, ii. p. 410; G. Turner, *Samoa* p. 268.

<sup>121</sup> Inscriptions of about 100 B.C. show that at that time there were 100 to 120 maidens who 'wrought the wool for Athena's robe.' See Prof. U. Köhler in *Mittheilungen*, viii. (1888) pp. 57-66; *Bulletin de corr. Hellénique*, xiii. (1889) p. 170. This points to the weaving of a large robe suitable for a colossal image. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld believes that the robe was dedicated to Athena of the Parthenon (*Mittheilungen*, xii.

p. 200). It is possible that this may have been the case in later times. But we know nothing as to the size of the ancient wooden image in the Erechtheum, and it is extremely improbable that the custom of periodically presenting this most venerable image with a new robe should ever have been discontinued.

<sup>121a</sup> See O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis*, p. 12; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, I. Pl. X. No. 36; Roscher's *Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, i. p. 604; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*, i. p. 255 *sq.*

<sup>121b</sup> The scenes represented the wars of the gods and giants; Athena's triumph over Enceladus is mentioned in particular. See the passages collected by Prof. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 323.



sion, Aristophanes speaks of the robe of Athena Polias, he is referring to the Athena of the Erechtheum.

Aeschines mentions that the priestess of Athena Polias was chosen from the family of the Eteobutads.<sup>122</sup> That Athena Polias is here the Athena of the Erechtheum is quite certain. For the Eteobutads or Butads, who furnished the priestesses of Athena Polias, furnished also the priests of Erechtheus;<sup>123</sup> their legendary ancestor Butes had an altar in the Erechtheum,<sup>124</sup> and was said to be either a twin brother of Erechtheus<sup>125</sup> or a son of Poseidon,<sup>126</sup> who in the Erechtheum was identified with Erechtheus; the portraits of the family were painted on the walls of the Erechtheum;<sup>127</sup> the statues of some of them stood within it;<sup>128</sup> and a genealogical tree tracing the descent of one branch of the family from Erechtheus was dedicated in the temple.<sup>129</sup> Hence, whenever the priestess of Athena Polias is mentioned in an inscription<sup>130</sup> or by an ancient writer,<sup>131</sup> we may be sure that the reference is to Athena of the Erechtheum. It may be added that the fact of Athena Polias and Erechtheus having been served by members of the same ancient family favours the view that from the earliest times, and not merely, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, from the close of the fifth century B.C., the two worships had been conjoined in a single temple.

The antiquary Philochorus, who wrote his account of Attica about 260 B.C.,<sup>132</sup> refers in a well-known passage to the temple of Athena Polias. The passage is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>133</sup> and the context proves that the quotation is literal. It runs thus: 'A bitch having entered into the temple of the Polias and gone down into the Pandrosium, ascended the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard which stands under the olive-tree, and there lay down.' It is practically certain that 'the temple of the Polias' is here either the Erechtheum as a whole or its eastern chamber, the *cella* of Athena Polias. For the Pandrosium or sanctuary of Pandrosus immediately adjoined the Erechtheum on the west;<sup>134</sup> and the sacred olive-tree

<sup>122</sup> Aeschines, ii. 147, with the scholiast on the passage (p. 308 ed. Schultz); cp. Harpocration and Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. 'Ερεοβουτᾶς. On the family of the Eteobutads (originally Butads simply) see J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 113 sqq.

<sup>123</sup> [Plutarch] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 841 b, 843 b c c (where the case is mentioned of a brother and sister who held the priesthood of Erechtheus and the priesthood of Athena respectively). Erechtheus was identified with Poseidon (Jahn-Michaelis, *op. cit.* p. 23); hence his priesthood was called sometimes the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus, sometimes the priesthood of Poseidon simply.

<sup>124</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 5. A fragment of a marble seat bearing the inscription 'of the priest of Butes' (*ἱερεὺς Βούτων*) has been found in the Erechtheum (*C.I.A.* iii. No. 392).

<sup>125</sup> Apollodorus, iii. 14. 8.

<sup>126</sup> Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* i. 1. p. 13; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 209 sq., s.vv. Βουτᾶς and Βουτῖδης.

<sup>127</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 5.

<sup>128</sup> [Plutarch] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 c.

<sup>129</sup> [Plutarch] *Id.*

<sup>130</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 374, 1377, 1392 b (p. 350); *C.I.A.* iii. Nos. 29, 63, 174 a (p. 491), 836, 872.

<sup>131</sup> Aeschines, ii. 147, with the scholiast; Strabo, ix. p. 394 sq.; Plutarch, *De vitiois pudore*, 14; Lucian, *Piscator*, 21, cp. 47; *Biogr. Gr.* ed. Westermann, p. 267; Harpocration and Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. 'Ερεοβουτᾶς.

<sup>132</sup> Cp. *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, i. p. lxxxiv.

<sup>133</sup> *De Dinarcho iudicium*, 3 κῶν εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὸν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ θύσας εἰς τὸ Παρδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν Βουτῶν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ Ἐρατοῦ Διδὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς κατέκειτο.

<sup>134</sup> Pausanias, i. 27. 2.



under which the dog lay down was in the Pandrosium.<sup>135</sup> Further, the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum is on a higher level than the western chambers of the temple, and there seems to have been a communication between the two halves of the building.<sup>137</sup> Thus the dog probably entered the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum by the portico, went down (*δῶσα*) the stairs into the western chambers, and then passed out through the western door into the Pandrosium. This interpretation fits so well with the plan of the Erechtheum that it can hardly fail to be right. Hence we have the testimony of Philochorus that in the third century B.C. the Erechtheum or its eastern chamber was called the temple of the Polias. As an antiquary who had made a special study of the history and monuments of Athens, Philochorus was not likely to be mistaken as to the temple of Athena Polias, and his evidence is therefore of the greatest weight. It will be observed that he writes as if he knew of only one such temple.

Strabo<sup>138</sup> mentions two temples of Athena on the Acropolis, namely the Parthenon and 'the old temple of the Polias, in which is the never dying lamp.' We have already seen that this 'old temple of the Polias' must be the Erechtheum, since the perpetual lamp is known to have been in the Erechtheum.

Plutarch, in speaking of ancient wooden images, mentions 'the wooden image of the Polias set up by the aborigines, which the Athenians preserve to this day.'<sup>139</sup> This ancient wooden image is of course the old wooden image of Athena in the Erechtheum. Therefore by 'the Polias' Plutarch clearly understood the Athena of the Erechtheum. The scholiast on Demosthenes<sup>140</sup> also calls the wooden image of Athena on the Acropolis the image of Athena Polias, distinguishing it from the other two famous images of the goddess on the citadel, namely the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos and the colossal bronze image of Athena Promachos.

Pausanias, in mentioning the same ancient image of Athena in the Erechtheum, records its great antiquity and says that in the olden time the Acropolis was called the *polis* ('city').<sup>141</sup> The remark is obviously intended to explain the epithet Polias applied to the goddess of the old image. There can therefore be no doubt that to Pausanias the Athena of the Erechtheum was Athena Polias, and that when a few lines lower down<sup>142</sup> he mentions various antiquities 'in the temple of the Polias' he means his readers to understand that he is still in the Erechtheum.

Lucian represents an imaginary assembly of philosophers taking place on the Acropolis 'in the eastern portico (*pronaos*) of the Polias,' where they were provided with seats by the priestess.<sup>143</sup> We have seen that the

<sup>135, 136</sup> Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1. Herodotus speaks (viii. 55) as if the olive were in the Erechtheum itself; but this may be only a loose mode of expression. The evidence of Pausanias (i. 27. 2) is indecisive.

<sup>137</sup> This is thought probable by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 58).

<sup>138</sup> ix. p. 396.

<sup>139</sup> Plutarch, *De daedalis Plataensibus*, in Dübner's ed. of Plutarch, vol. iii. p. 20.

<sup>140</sup> xxii. 13, p. 597.

<sup>141</sup> Pausanias, i. 26. 6.

<sup>142</sup> i. 27. 1.

<sup>143</sup> Lucian, *Piscator*, 21. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that Lucian must have meant the eastern portico of the Parthenon, because 'it was the only



priestess of Athena Polias served in the Erechtheum. It follows that by 'the eastern portico of the Polias' Lucian means the eastern portico of the Erechtheum.

Clement of Alexandria says that Erichthonius was buried 'in the temple of the Polias.'<sup>141</sup> As Erichthonius was identical with Erechtheus,<sup>142</sup> the 'temple of the Polias' in which he was buried can only have been the Erechtheum, where he was worshipped jointly with Athena. Clement's statement that Erichthonius was buried in the temple of the Polias is copied by Arnobius.<sup>143</sup>

Philostratus<sup>144</sup> mentions 'the image of Athena Polias' among the oldest images in Greece. He clearly refers to the ancient image in the Erechtheum.

Lastly, Himerius, in speaking of the Acropolis, mentions 'the temple of the Polias and the neighbouring precinct of Poseidon,' adding 'for after their contest we united the divinities to each other in their shrines.'<sup>145</sup> Obviously he is speaking of the joint temple of Athena and Poseidon (Erechtheus), that is, the Erechtheum.

Thus it appears that ancient writers from Herodotus to Himerius regularly understood Athena Polias to be the Athena of the Erechtheum. But there is more evidence to the same effect. The sacred serpent, which lived in the Erechtheum and seems to have been neither more nor less than Erichthonius or Erechtheus himself, was called the guardian of Athena Polias.<sup>146</sup> This implies that Athena Polias was the goddess of the temple in which the serpent had his den, namely the Erechtheum. Further, there have been found on the Acropolis and its southern slope some pedestals which, as we learn from the inscriptions on them, formerly supported statues of girls who had served Athena Polias as *errephoroi*.<sup>147</sup> The Athena Polias of these inscriptions is undoubtedly the Athena of the Erechtheum, since, as we have seen already, the girls called *errephoroi* were attached to the service of the Erechtheum and dwelt near it. As if to put this beyond a doubt, one at least of the inscriptions<sup>148</sup> records that the girl served

portico on the Acropolis adapted by its size to be the meeting-place of such an assembly' (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 199). He seems to forget that any portico is large enough to accommodate an imaginary assembly.

<sup>141</sup> *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39 ed. Potter.

<sup>142</sup> Schol. on Homer, *Il.* ii. 547 ed. Bekker; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 371, s.v. 'Ερεχθίδης.

<sup>143</sup> *Adverna Nationes*, vi. 6. Apollodorus says (iii. 14. 7) that Erichthonius was buried 'in the precinct (τέμενος) of Athena.'

<sup>144</sup> *Vit. Apollon.* iii. 14.

<sup>145</sup> Himerius, *Hel.* v. 30.

<sup>146</sup> Hesychius and Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. εἰς κοῦρον ἔπει; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* i. 357, p. 1423. Hesychius says that the serpent lived 'in the sanctuary of Erechtheus'; Eustathius

that it lived 'in the temple of the Polias.' These were merely different names of the same place. That Erichthonius (Erechtheus) was a serpent pure and simple was often recognized by the ancients (Pausanias, i. 24. 7; Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 13; Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, 9; cp. Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* vii. 24, where Athena is said to have been the serpent's mother). As Demosthenes, in his farewell to Athens, coupled Athena Polias with her serpent and owl (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 26), he was probably thinking of the Athena of the Erechtheum.

<sup>147</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 1390, 1391; *C.I.A.* iii. Nos. 887, 916, 917, 918.

<sup>148</sup> *C.I.A.* iii. No. 887; cp. *C.I.A.* ii. No. 1390.



'Athena Polias and Pandrosus.' As Pandrosus was one of the three maidens to whom Athena entrusted the infant Erichthonius (Erechtheus),<sup>152</sup> and as her temple was actually contiguous to the Erechtheum,<sup>153</sup> it is certain that Athena Polias with whom she is associated in this inscription was the Athena of the Erechtheum. For a similar reason when we learn from another inscription<sup>154</sup> that the Athenian lads (*epheboi*) sacrificed on the Acropolis 'to Athena Polias and to the Nursing Mother (*Kourotrophos*) and to Pandrosus,' we may be sure that the Athena Polias to whom these sacrifices were offered was the Athena of the Erechtheum.<sup>155</sup>

Thus far all the passages of ancient authors and inscriptions which we have examined either support the view that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum or are neutral. There remain, however, three passages of ancient writers which do more or less countenance Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion that Athena Polias was also the goddess of the Parthenon. The gold and ivory statue of Athena which Phidias made for the Parthenon is called by Clement of Alexandria the statue of the Polias.<sup>156</sup> Here, then, indubitably Clement speaks of the Athena of the Parthenon as Athena Polias. Again, a scholiast on Aristophanes<sup>157</sup> says that the *opisthodomos* was 'behind the temple of Athena Polias.' As this probably means that the *opisthodomos* was a compartment at the west end of the temple in question, and the Erechtheum had no *opisthodomos*, the scholiast must here be speaking either of the Parthenon or (according to Dr. Dörpfeld) of the Pre-Persian temple. In either case his statement favours the opinion of Dr. Dörpfeld, according to whom both the Parthenon and the Pre-Persian temple were temples of Athena Polias. Lastly, Eustathius<sup>158</sup> speaks of 'the image of the Gorgon dedicated to Athena Polias.' It is possible that Eustathius was here thinking of the ivory head of the Gorgon Medusa which adorned the breast of the statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Pausanias, i. 18. 2, &c.

<sup>153</sup> *Ib.* i. 27. 2.

<sup>154</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 481.

<sup>155</sup> For the sake of completeness I will here notice two more inscriptions which might perhaps be quoted to prove the identity of Athena Polias with Athena of the Erechtheum, though I attach little weight to their evidence. (1) Two silver cups preserved in 'the old temple' bore the inscription 'sacred to Athena Polias' (*C.I.A.* ii. No. 735 compared with No. 733). 'The old temple,' as we saw, was probably the Erechtheum; hence, it might be inferred, the Athena Polias to whom these cups were dedicated was the goddess of the Erechtheum. But this inference would be very precarious, since we have seen in the case of the Parthenon that the votive offerings stored in a temple did not always belong to the deity of the temple. (2) A mutilated inscription, as partially restored by Prof. Kirchhoff (*C.I.A.* ii. No. 464, see above

p. 175, note 87), makes mention of 'the old temple of Athena Polias.' If Prof. Kirchhoff's restoration is right, and if 'the old temple' was, as I have shown grounds for believing, the Erechtheum, this inscription furnishes another proof that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum. But as this proof depends on these two conditions, little stress can be laid on it.

<sup>156</sup> *Protrep.* iv. 47, p. 41 ed. Potter.

<sup>157</sup> *Plutus*, 1193.

<sup>158</sup> On Homer *Od.* xi. 634, p. 1704. Eustathius is here referring to the story that a thief had once stolen the Gorgon's head from an image of Athena on the Acropolis (Isocrates, xviii. 57; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Φιλοῦργος*; see O. Jahn in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. hist. Cl. x. (1859) pp. 107-109). But we do not know from which of her images the object was supposed to have been stolen.

<sup>159</sup> Pausanias i. 24. 7.



These three passages are, so far as I see, the only ones in all ancient literature which at all favour Dr. Dörpfeld's view that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Parthenon as well as of the Erechtheum. The passage of Eustathius is almost valueless on account of its ambiguity, not to speak of the lateness of the writer. There remain, therefore, to support Dr. Dörpfeld's view the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, a Christian writer living in Egypt in the second century A.D., and that of a scholiast on Aristophanes of unknown date. All other passages of ancient writers and all the inscriptions without exception either support the view that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum or are neutral. In the face of this vast preponderance of evidence we can hardly doubt that Clement of Alexandria and the scholiast on Aristophanes were mistaken, and that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum alone. If so, Dr. Dörpfeld's Polias argument in favour of the restoration of the Pre-Persian temple must be given up.

(v.) The Pausanias argument. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the restored Pre-Persian temple was seen by Pausanias in the second century of our era and was described by him in a passage quoted below.<sup>160</sup> At this point of his work Pausanias is describing the Acropolis. In the preceding chapter he had mentioned the precinct of Brauronian Artemis at the south-western side of the Acropolis; and he is now proceeding eastward from it towards the eastern front of the Parthenon, describing in topographical order everything he met with that seemed to him of interest. He is now standing either to the west or to the north of the Parthenon and he mentions a temple. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that Pausanias is now on the north side of the Parthenon and that the temple which he mentions is the Pre-Persian temple. That he is now on the north side of the Parthenon is proved, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks, by the fact that almost immediately after mentioning the temple he mentions an image of Earth praying for rain,<sup>161</sup> which is known from an inscription cut in the rock to have stood a little to the north of the Parthenon, between it and the site of the Pre-Persian temple. The present passage would therefore, Dr. Dörpfeld argues, be a very appropriate place in which to describe the Pre-Persian temple. He believes that there is a lacuna in the passage, that a whole page has probably dropped out, and that it contained a description of the temple and its *episthodomos*.

I agree with Dr. Dörpfeld in thinking that there is a lacuna in the text of Pausanias at this point,<sup>162</sup> that a fuller description of the temple

<sup>160</sup> Pausanias I. 24. 3. As printed in Schubart's edition the passage stands thus: ἀλέκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσώτερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶ σπουδῆς. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖον ἐπώνυμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκάλουι Ἐρμῆς \* \* ὁμοῦ δὲ σφισιν ἐν τῇ ναῷ Σπουδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν.

<sup>161</sup> *Ib.* For the inscription see *C.I.A.* III. No. 166. It is cut in the rock about

thirty feet north of the seventh column on the north side of the Parthenon (reckoning from the west).

<sup>162</sup> The counter arguments of my friend Dr. Verrall have not convinced me of the soundness of the text (see Miss Harrison and Mrs. Verrall's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 610 sq.). That a verb such as ἐπώνυμασαν has dropped out after ἀκάλουι Ἐρμῆς is certain, for



mentioned at the end of the passage has dropped out, and that the present would not be an inappropriate place in which to describe the Pre-Persian temple, if it still existed. Accordingly if Dr. Dörpfeld's other arguments had convinced me that the Pre-Persian temple had been restored and had subsisted down to Pausanias' time, I should have been disposed to believe with him that Pausanias had described it here. But as his other arguments, in my judgment, entirely fail to support his conclusion, I can hardly think that Pausanias here described a temple the history of which is otherwise a total blank from its destruction in 480 B.C. down to the excavation of its ruined foundations in 1886. In these circumstances the view advocated by H. N. Ulrichs<sup>163</sup> is still, in my opinion, the most probable, namely that the temple here mentioned by Pausanias was a temple of Athena Ergane. Certainly the defective passage opens with a mention of Athena Ergane; and that the goddess was worshipped on the Acropolis under this title is proved by the discovery on the Acropolis of no less than five inscriptions containing dedications to Athena Ergane.<sup>164</sup> As two of these inscriptions<sup>165</sup> were found on the terrace between the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis and the west end of the Parthenon, it is not improbable that there may have been a small temple of Athena Ergane here. The southern part, indeed, of the terrace was occupied by a large building supposed to have been the *Chalkotheke* or 'store-house for bronzes' which is known from an inscription<sup>166</sup> to have stood on the Acropolis. The foundations of this building, which abutted on the southern wall of the Acropolis and had a colonnade along its northern front, were discovered a few years ago.<sup>167</sup> But there is room enough for a small temple on the northern part of the terrace, and this position would fit in perfectly with Pausanias' route. It is true that though this part of the terrace has been excavated no foundations of a temple have been found. But if the temple was small the foundations might easily be removed. Similarly we know that there was a temple of Pandrosus on the Acropolis adjoining the Erechtheum,<sup>168</sup> but none of the foundations have been discovered. It is to be remembered that some of the buildings which Pausanias calls temples were tiny; for example he gives the name of temples to the choregic monuments<sup>169</sup> of which a specimen has survived in the well-known monument of Lysicrates at the eastern foot of the Acropolis. The temple of Athena Ergane, supposing that there was such a temple and that it stood on this terrace, could not be older than the end of the fifth century

as the text stands there is nothing to govern this accusative. And that a fuller mention of the temple referred to in the words *ἐν τῇ ναῖ* has dropped out is nearly certain, for it would be contrary to Pausanias' manner to speak thus of 'the temple' without having specified the temple to which he was referring.

<sup>163</sup> *Reisen und Forschungen*, ii. pp. 148-155.

<sup>164</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. Nos. 1428, 1429, 1434, 1438; *C.I.A.* iv. No. 373 (271), p. 205; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιο-λογικόν*, 1888, p. 138.

<sup>165</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. 1429 (see H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen*

*u. Forschungen*, 2. p. 154); *C.I.A.* iv. No. 373 (271), p. 205.

<sup>166</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. No. 61.

<sup>167</sup> See Dr. Dörpfeld, 'Chalkothek und Ergane-Tempel, *Mittheilungen*, xiv. (1889) pp. 304-313.

<sup>168</sup> Pausanias i. 27. 2.

<sup>169</sup> Pausanias i. 20. 1 *ναὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγά-λοι*, where we should probably read *ἵσον* for *θεῶν* with Prof. C. Robert (*Hermes*, xiv. p. 313 *sqq.*).



B.C., since the terrace appears to have been reduced to its present level at that date.<sup>170</sup>

The supposition that in the passage under discussion Pausanias is describing a temple to the west of the Parthenon fits in with the traveller's route rather better than Dr. Dörpfeld's view that he is describing the Pre-Persian temple. For Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis requires that Pausanias should have passed by without mention the image of Earth on his way to the Pre-Persian temple, and that after quitting the temple he should have retraced his steps westward till he came to the image, then faced about once more and proceeded eastward to the front of the Parthenon. Whereas on the other hypothesis Pausanias proceeds uniformly eastward from the Propylaea to the front of the Parthenon, without once in the interval returning on his steps, unless it be to describe the statues on one side of the road after he had first described those on the other.<sup>171</sup>

(vi.) In conclusion I venture to state explicitly two architectural considerations, admitted by Dr. Dörpfeld himself, which have already been implicitly indicated in the course of this paper and which seem to tell strongly against his theory. In the first place, if the temple was rebuilt twice or even thrice after the Persian war, it is surprising that no vestige of these restorations has survived, and that all the remains of the temple, which are considerable, should date from before the Persian war. In the second place, if Dr. Dörpfeld is right, the Athenians built the beautiful caryatid porch of the Erechtheum, one of the gems of Greek architecture, within about six feet of the long dead wall of the Pre-Persian temple; and they not only suffered that temple to remain blocking up the porch, but when it had been providentially burnt, they deliberately restored it. It is hard to suppose the Athenians guilty of such an outrage upon good taste. Dr. Dörpfeld seeks to palliate it by comparing the case of the Parthenon frieze, which was fixed in a position so high and at such an angle to the spectator that it must have been impossible to view it properly from the ground. But the cases are not parallel. The laws of Greek architecture required that the Parthenon frieze should be where it was; they did not require that the beautiful porch of one temple should be blocked up and hidden by the long dead wall of another.

On the whole, then, the balance of evidence appears to incline decidedly against Dr. Dörpfeld's theory that the Pre-Persian temple, shorn of its colonnade, was restored after its destruction in 480 B.C., and that it continued to disfigure the Acropolis all through the rest of the classical ages. But I am far from laying down dogmatically a conclusion which is reached only by a somewhat delicate weighing of the arguments on both sides, and I will withdraw any or all of the objections I have urged to Dr. Dörpfeld's theory if he or any one else can prove them to be untenable.

J. G. FRAZER.

<sup>170</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, xiv. (1889) p. 313.

<sup>171</sup> See Pausanias i. 24. 1 τοῦτοις πέρας ἐν

εἴρηκα κ.τ.λ. In Pausanias πέρας nearly always means 'opposite to,' not 'beyond.' See Prof. A. Michaelis in *Mittheilungen*, ii. p. 1 seq.



## THE CHARIOT-GROUP OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

As the re-arrangement of the sculptures at the British Museum has now reached the Mausoleum Room, the questions as to the restoration of that famous building are naturally brought to the front, and it is to be hoped that the occasion will arouse fresh interest in it in the minds of English friends of art and antiquity.

I do not propose in the present paper to do more than call attention to one point, the composition of the chariot-group which is sometimes supposed to have crowned the edifice. Larger and more general questions I leave. The restorations of Fergusson, Pullan and Petersen, which have been repeated by subsequent writers,<sup>1</sup> all professedly follow the statements of Pliny, and hold the building to have consisted of a pteron standing on a lofty base, and supporting a pyramid on which the chariot-group stood. These writers all gave the Mausoleum the height fixed by Pliny of 140 feet: but recently Dr. Trendelenberg<sup>2</sup> has called this view in question, maintaining that the full height was only 75 feet, and that the high base is a modern fancy. The question would be worthy of a more careful discussion than it has yet received. Both the older and the newer view are by no means free from difficulty: but I do not propose in this place to say more on the matter.<sup>3</sup>

It has been usual among restorers of the Mausoleum to place on the summit of the pyramid which crowned the edifice a standing quadriga containing the male and female figures commonly called Mausolus and Artemisia. It is the question whether these figures really belong to the quadriga which I wish briefly to discuss. They were supposed to do so by Sir Charles Newton, though with his usual wise caution he clearly indicates that he regards it as anything but certain. Almost the only subsequent writer who boldly accepts this composition of the chariot-group is Ulrichs.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Murray in his *History of Greek Sculpture*<sup>5</sup> (2nd edition) writes of it: 'If these statues, as seems most probable, belonged to the chariot of the

<sup>1</sup> See *History of Discoveries*, Pl. 19; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, s.v.; and the histories of sculpture.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 105. Mr. Torr, in calling attention to this paper in the *Athenaeum* (Feb. 1892), has expressed his agreement with its argument.

<sup>3</sup> Recently Mr. Oldfield, in two papers read before the Society of Antiquaries, has proposed quite a new restoration. His views are as yet unpublished.

<sup>4</sup> *Scopas*, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> ii. 302.



pyramid, they would naturally be the work of Pythios.' Stark<sup>6</sup> however had already, nearly thirty years ago, argued that the statues could not belong to the chariot. Wolters<sup>7</sup> agrees with him, and Overbeek, though with some reserve, inclines to the same opinion. The official Guide of the British Museum (ed. 1890) leaves the question quite open.

I have recently had occasion to consider the arguments on both sides of the question, and have come to the conclusion that Pullan's restoration of the chariot-group cannot be upheld: it seems to me probable for many reasons that the figures of Mausolus and the lady do not belong to the chariot-group which surmounted the Mausoleum.

Let us first consider the ancient evidence, which consists in a passage of Pliny. He says: 'In summo est quadriga marmorea, quam fecit Pythis (*v. l.* Pythius).' Now it seems very unlikely that Pliny would thus speak only of the chariot, if it had contained so important a work as the statue of Mausolus himself. He speaks expressly of a quadriga, and the natural inference is either that the quadriga was empty, or that it contained only a charioteer of no special importance. Such arguments from omission however must never be pressed too far, and cannot be in themselves conclusive.

Secondly it seems in the last degree unlikely that the Greeks would place important portraits in a chariot at a height from the ground, at which they would be practically invisible, at least in detail. Even if we could suppose that visitors could climb the lofty pyramid which supported the chariot, figures standing in it would be quite over their heads and not to be seen. And moreover, in order to support colossal marble figures in the chariot, the bottom of it would have to be made solid with the pedestal, a most awkward as well as an awkward-looking arrangement. A mere marble support in the middle would not be sufficient, for the Greeks were very fond of solidity in their constructions.

These arguments would go to establish the probability that the chariot of Pythios was empty. And what could be more appropriate to a tomb than an empty chariot? The unriden horse, which indicates at once the rank and the death of the hero, commonly makes his appearance on Greek sepulchral reliefs. To our own days the charger of a dead officer is led unriden in his funeral procession. The empty chariot would have the same meaning. I do not mean that an image of Mausolus would necessarily be out of place in the chariot, but merely that its absence would be natural.

From these general considerations let us turn to the examination of the existing marbles. And here there appear to be certain valid reasons for supposing that, whoever may have stood in the chariot, it could scarcely be the statues of Mausolus and the lady which we possess.

The attitude of both these statues is dignified and monumental. Both are clad in full drapery of chiton and overdress. Mausolus stands in a firm attitude, his right hand somewhat raised, in his left hand probably a long sceptre. The lady is a model of finely arranged drapery. What her hands

<sup>6</sup> *Philologus*, 21, 464.

<sup>7</sup> *Gymnasion zu Berlin*, i. 427.



were doing we cannot say; perhaps in one of them she held a patera: they are gently extended.

In order to avoid continuing to call this female figure 'the lady,' I will venture to give her a name. I quite agree with the view which is frequently accepted, and is adopted by Wolters and other authorities, that she must be Artemisia. She is evidently intended to match Mausolus, and was found close to him. In spite of the bad preservation of the head we can trace the ordering of the hair, which clusters round the temples in small formal locks. And Wolters rightly observes that such an arrangement would be very strange in case of a goddess. It is borrowed from life, as we may see from the instance of the stele of Philis, and is probably one of those formal and stately Ionian fashions which lasted longer in Asia Minor than in Greece.

Is it possible then that our Mausolus and Artemisia can have stood in the chariot? It at once occurs to us, that had it been so, one of the two must have been grasping reins and goad, and have worn appropriate dress for driving. The dress of a charioteer is well known, it was a long rather closely-fitting chiton, sometimes gathered closely to the chest, and confined by crossing bands. As examples of chariot-groups we have an almost infinite number of reliefs on the friezes of temples, in dedicatory tablets, in metopes like that from Ilium, and on coins. As examples in the round we have no perfect group extant, but we have some evidence of the compositions of the chariot-groups in the western pediment of the Parthenon from the drawings of Carrey. I do not think that I am exaggerating in saying that the whole of this testimony is in the same direction. The charioteer is always showing in his attitude his relation to the horses.

Considering facts like these, which indeed are obvious enough, is it possible to suppose that our two colossal figures stood in a chariot? Neither is clad in charioteer's dress; neither shows the slightest sign of holding the reins or controlling the horses; the dress of both is entirely unaffected by the wind. Possibly it might be fancied that there was a third person, Nike, or some other, present to hold the reins; but for such a theory there is, so far as I know, no ground whatever. Of course, as the chariot was at rest, one would not expect either strain in the person controlling the horses or a violent motion in the drapery; but it seems contrary to the usual customs of Greek art in the case of persons standing in a chariot to give no indication of relation to it or the horses.

Attention has been called to the fact that the figures of Mausolus and Artemisia are of precisely the same marble as are the horses: but this would in any case be natural, and proves nothing. It has further been supposed that the break in the drapery of Mausolus near his left knee may have been made to allow room for the rim, *ἀντροξ*, of the chariot. This however cannot be the case. Judging by the size of the wheel, the rim of the chariot if it were of the usual form would be at least as high as the thigh of Mausolus, not his knee: as a matter of fact the break is but  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the plinth, whereas the top of the wheel would be quite a foot higher,



and the chariot-rim considerably higher still. The break therefore must have had another purpose.

It appears that both of the statues were found in the neighbourhood of fragments of horses and amid the ruins of the steps of the pyramid. This is no doubt much the strongest argument in favour of their belonging together. But although the fact stated carries weight, yet it does not seem to me to outweigh all that can be said on the other side. The exact find-spot of statues has sometimes been a misleading indication. The excavations at Olympia have proved to demonstration what extraordinary chances rule as to the direction falling statues will take or the fate they will meet. Some figures from the Olympian pediments fell almost straight and suffered comparatively little, while other figures close to them in the pediments were hurled to a great distance or shattered into a thousand fragments. In company with the fragments of the horses of the Mausoleum were found not only the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia, but also a variety of heads male and female, fragments of draped figures, and a lion. If the argument from the find-spot were conclusive, it would show that all these stood on the pyramid. It is clear that an earthquake or some violent convulsion had mixed up sculptures from various quarters. In passing I may throw out one question based on the present state of the statues. It is certain that the Mausoleum remained almost uninjured for a very long time, some authorities think as much as 1500 years.<sup>8</sup> Is it possible that the head of Mausolus which we possess can have been exposed to storm and rain for a third of that time and show so little trace of weather?

These arguments however can only establish a probability, I now come to one which seems to me to go far to establish certainty. In comparison with the wheels and the horses of the chariot the figures of Mausolus and Artemisia are decidedly too small.

I have made many measurements of horses, wheels and riders on friezes, stelae and sculptures in the round. I do not here propose to set forth in detail the results of these measurements, but the general conclusions to which they have led me may be succinctly stated. As the measurements were necessarily only approximate, I will not regard small fractions.

The figure of Mausolus stands 9 feet 10 inches high: that of Artemisia 8 feet 8 inches high.

The chariot-wheel, as restored at the British Museum, has a diameter of 7 feet 7 inches.

The horses as erected have a height from the ground of 11 feet 9 inches to the top of the head; of 8 feet 6 inches to the saddle.<sup>9</sup>

On observing the wheels of chariots on stelae and friezes one finds that their diameter is about half the height of a man, sometimes rather less, sometimes as in the Xanthian frieze slightly more, but never so much as

<sup>8</sup> Eustathius mentions the Mausoleum as in his time a *δαῖμα* (twelfth century). But it does not follow that it was then intact. It must, however, have remained complete for six or

seven centuries.

<sup>9</sup> The horses I measured; the other figures are taken from official statements.



three-fourths of that height. Yet this last is the proportion between the diameter of the Mausoleum chariot-wheel and the height of Mausolus.

As regards the proportionate height of horse and man, the general rule in Greek sculpture of the best period seems to be that the standing horse and the man are of about equal height; while the length of a horse's body is about three-fourths of that height. These proportions hold in the Parthenon and Mausoleum friezes; but of course this evidence cannot be insisted on, since in any case the isocephalic law would require the heads of horses and men to be about on a level. If however we turn to sepulchral stelæ and other reliefs where this law does not prevail, we find the same scale of proportion usually to hold. And it is shown also in the few cases in which we possess horsemen sculptured in the round. Thus if the horseman of the Locrian pediment<sup>10</sup> be restored, it will be found that his height is one-third greater than the length of his horse's body, so that if he stood beside the horse the tops of their heads would be level.

We have however the good fortune to possess several equestrian figures in the round sculptured by the very artists who worked on the Mausoleum. The figures of an Amazon and Nereids from Epidaurus,<sup>11</sup> apparently made from the designs of Timotheus, are of about the same height in proportion to their horses as in the Locrian rider: that is, the rider and the horse are of about equal height.

But perhaps the best instance which can be cited is the Persian horseman from the Mausoleum. This rider, to judge from the length of his thigh (about 32 inches), would if standing be between 9 feet and 9 feet 6 inches high. His horse is just about 7 feet long, and so would be just as tall as the rider, if both stood complete. It thus seems to be the rule in good Greek art that the tops of the heads of a standing horse and of a standing man should be about on a level. Yet the head of Mausolus is 2 feet lower than that of the Mausoleum chariot-horse, while the head of Artemisia barely reaches up to his saddle.

Perhaps the easiest way to convince one's eyes of the disproportion between Mausolus and the chariot-horse is to compare him with this Persian rider who stands in the same room with him at the British Museum. This rider was nearly as tall as Mausolus, and decidedly taller than Artemisia, but the horse he bestrides looks like a little pony beside the huge chariot-horses, while in style it is incomparably superior.

An anonymous writer to the *Athenæum*<sup>12</sup> has tried to remove the force of arguments such as these used by me on a previous occasion. In the first place he maintains that the proportion of the height of the head of Mausolus to the length of the head of the chariot-horse is the same as is found in the case of men and horses in the Parthenon pediment and in nature. I do not controvert his statement; but he has overlooked the further fact that the head of the Mausoleum chariot-horse is quite abnormally short. Its length

<sup>10</sup> *Röm. Mittheil.* v. Pl. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Mar. 12, 1892.

<sup>11</sup> *Carvadias, Fouilles d'Épidaure*, Pl. 9.



in proportion to the height of the horse is only '29, whereas the length of head in proportion to height is in the Parthenon frieze about '34 or '35: on the other hand the head of Mausolus is unusually large in proportion to the total height of the statue. Thus to measure only the heads is misleading; the thing to be considered is the relative heights of horse and man; and it could scarcely be maintained that if the head of the horse of Helios in the Parthenon pediment were joined to a proportionate body it would stand as much higher than the head of the Theseus standing as does the head of the Mausoleum chariot-horse above that of Mausolus.

The same writer observes that 'the horses of Asia Minor were of a much larger breed than those of Greece proper.' Whether this were the case or not, the instances of the Persian rider and of the frieze prove that this larger breed did not influence the art, at bottom Attic, of the Mausoleum. Finally, it might be said that chariot-horses would be taller than riding-horses. But in the numerous instances of both which I have examined in Greek art I have found no difference in size. The chariot-horse was selected not like a modern carriage-horse for drawing-power, but for swiftness and lightness.

It thus seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the size of the Mausoleum chariot-horses, as well as of the wheel, is quite out of proportion to that of the figures of Mausolus and Artemisia.

And this argument gains on reflection. The only chance that the charioteers would be seen properly from below would lie in their being tall in proportion to the chariot. Our two statues would be in such a position simply invisible. This does not strike one strongly in looking at the designs of Pullan and Ulrichs and Petersen, because they are all sections and give no notion of the whole as it would look from below. But it would clearly appear if a model were made to scale. Mausolus in the chariot would stand, according to Mr. Pullan, less than 14 feet high, and if he were placed on a lofty pedestal with four gigantic horses each nearly 12 feet high in front of him, no one from below would see even his head from the front, and the side view would scarcely be more satisfactory. And this may in fact be judged from a consideration of the figures as now arranged in the British Museum. If we fill in in imagination two additional horses between the two flanking ones, of which alone fragments remain, we shall observe that from the front Mausolus and Artemisia would be almost invisible. The chin of Mausolus and the top of the head of Artemisia would only have been visible over the horses' heads from below, the ground being level, at a distance of about 1000 feet supposing that the building was 75 feet high, and at a distance of quite a third of a mile supposing that it was 140 feet high.

Sir Charles Newton has succeeded in pointing out some merits in the great chariot-horses. But they certainly convey an unpleasant impression; they are heavy and rough and not worked in detail. They may well pass as the work of Pythius, who seems to have been not a sculptor but an architect. He is said to have planned not only the Mausoleum but also the temple of



Athena at Priene.<sup>13</sup> He was no doubt instructed to make a great decorative group which would suit the building and pass muster at a distance. The figures of Mausolus and Artemisia on the other hand are noble and pleasing monumental works, not specially refined but yet well suited for near inspection. The shoe of Mausolus has often been admired, and it seems probable that it was meant to be seen.

I conceive then that these two admirable portraits stood somewhere within the building. Where they stood I am not prepared to say. Stark thought that they stood in niches; but Overbeck thinks this unlikely, because the backs are too carefully finished. The fact is that the arrangement of the statues from the Mausoleum is an unsolved and perhaps an insoluble problem. Part of a standing male figure on the same scale as Mausolus was found; and part of a colossal seated figure. How many figures may have disappeared we know not.

It seems to me that the noble figures of Mausolus and his wife have been somewhat undervalued because it was supposed that they were the work of Pythius, and because they were brought into connexion with the clumsy horses. But we know that at least four of the ablest artists of Greece, Scopas, Bryaxis, Leochares, and Timotheus, were employed on the Mausoleum in rivalry one of the other, and it seems impossible that they can have left so important work as that of these great statues to inferior artists. To which of these four sculptors we may best assign the statues I do not venture to decide; but the problem thus set before us is certainly attractive, and the chances of its solution are rapidly increasing, since we now possess sculptures coming either from the hand or the school of each of the four. In a paper recently published in Dutch, M. Jan Six, agreeing as he informs me with my argument as published in the *Times*<sup>14</sup> against the assignment of the portrait-statues to the quadriga, boldly names Bryaxis, probably a Carian, as the author of the portrait of Mausolus. But I think that the question needs a more careful investigation, before it can be regarded as settled.

PERCY GARDNER.

<sup>13</sup> Brunn, *Gric. Künstler*, ii. 376. According to Rayet, *Études d'archéologie*, p. 105, Pythis or Pythius was the greatest of the Ionic architects,

and skilled in all branches of art and science.

<sup>14</sup> Feb. 24, 1892.



## A MYKÊNÆAN TREASURE FROM ÆGINA.

A REMARKABLE Mykênæan gold-find brought to light some years since in the island of Ægina after finding its way into the London market has secured a permanent resting-place in the British Museum. In the interests of archæological science it must be a matter for rejoicing that our national collection should have received so important an accession in a department of ancient metal-work hitherto almost wholly unrepresented in any museum outside Athens. Opinions may well differ as to the propriety of removing from the soil on which they are found and to which they naturally belong the greater monuments of Classical Antiquity. But in the case of small objects, made themselves for commerce, and free from the same local ties, the considerations, which weigh under other circumstances, lose their validity, while on the other hand the benefits to be derived by students from their partial dispersion are not to be gainsaid. This, it is true, is not the standpoint of the Greek, or, for that matter, of the Turkish Government. But the theory that the present occupants of Greece or the Ottoman possessors of the Eastern Empire are the sole legitimate heirs even of such minor monuments of ancient culture is not likely to commend itself to the outside world. 'Twere hard indeed that not so much as a plaything should come down to us from the cradle of our civilization!

The laws by which not even a coin, or a jewel or a vase is allowed to find its way beyond a certain privileged zone, while frivolous in themselves and powerless to secure the object that they have in view, inflict a permanent injury on science. The present is a case in point. Certain gold objects, brought into the London market by the ordinary course of trade and that magnetic attraction which brings antiquities to our shores from all parts of the world, are acquired by the British Museum. But the vendor is unable to afford any information as to their provenience, the Museum authorities are naturally no wiser, and though my own investigations point to the fact that the relics in question were found in Ægina, the exact circumstances of the find are at present undiscoverable. It is moreover impossible to say whether other objects of less intrinsic value, such as clay vases, were found with the gold cup and jewellery.

It will be convenient, before calling attention to the exceptional character of the present find amongst Mykênæan deposits, to give a brief description of the objects discovered, together with the individual comparisons that suggest themselves.



## GOLD CUP.

A.—Gold cup (Figs. 1a and 1b), diam. 9.6 cm. It is ornamented with a *repoussé* design consisting of a central 'rosette' surrounded by four



FIG. 1a.



FIG. 1b.

returning spirals. At the side are three rivet-holes for the attachment of a simple handle (now lost) of looped gold plate, like those on some of the



goblets from the Second, Third, and Fourth Akropolis Graves at Mykênæ.<sup>1</sup> Though shallower in shape its contour somewhat resembles that of the two-handled goblet—Schliemann's so-called *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*—from Grave IV.;<sup>2</sup> in the present case, however, there was only a single handle. The returning spiral ornament round the sides recalls that on a *prochous* from Grave IV.,<sup>3</sup> but the style of the spirals is finer in the case of the Ægina bowl and doubtless more advanced. The quadruple arrangement of this motive, the single handle, and indeed the general contour of the cup curiously recall a class of earthenware vessels characteristic of the Hungarian Bronze Age.<sup>4</sup> The weight of the cup, which is of very pure gold, is 83·6 grammes.

#### PENDANT ORNAMENTS.

*B.*—Pendant ornament of gold (Figs. 2*a* and 2*b*), width 6·2 cm., height (with pendant disks) 7·4 cm. It consists of two open-work plates, the upper of these embossed with a design of a man holding two water-birds. The



FIG. 2*a*.

lower plate is flat with its edges folded over so as to catch the borders of the plate above, the hollow part of which is filled with clay. From these are

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, Nos. 317, 339, 340, 342, 343, 344, 453.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* No. 339. Professor Petrie observes that this two-handled vessel resembles certain Egyptian bronze cups of c. 1200–1200 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Schliemann, *op. cit.* No. 341.

<sup>4</sup> Compare for instance *Compte-rendu du Congrès d'Anthr. et d'Arch. préhistorique*, Budapest, 1878, Pl. LXXIII. 2*a*, LXXVI. 2 and 3, &c. This Danubian class in turn becomes the forerunner of a whole series of 'Late Celtic' vessels.



suspended by small chains five gold disks with central and peripheral punctuations. The system here followed of backing a *repoussé* design with a flat plate is the same as that adopted in the case of the Vaphio cups.

The design is of great interest and wholly different from any known Mykênæan type. The central figure holding the two water-birds is strongly Egyptianizing alike in attitude, proportions, and costume. The arrangement of the bracelets on the upper arms as well as round the wrists is quite in conformity with Egyptian usage. The pendant end of the girdle divided into ribbed sections shows the same agreement, but in this case it ends in a point in place of the double Uræus. The two bossed circles seen on either side of the neck are probably suggested by the ringlets of hair worn by some Egyptian divinities, notably Hathor, though in the case of male figures, such as Horus, they are generally worn on one side. The plumes again above the head are obviously borrowed from the same source, though they do not precisely reproduce the head ornament of any Egyptian deity. The whole gives us somewhat the impression of an Osiris whose *ten* or head-dress of solar disk, plumes and Uræi had been simplified into four plumes.

The base on which the figure is standing with its two lotos-flower terminals is equally suggestive of certain forms of Egyptian boat, sacred and otherwise, the prow and stern of which moreover not unfrequently end, as here, in a lotos ornament.<sup>5</sup> This similarity is enhanced by the frequency with which in Egyptian art a central figure rises from the middle of the bark. It is further to be observed that Egyptian boats of one form or another not unfrequently serve as the bases of ornamental designs:—witness the wooden perfume ladle in the Louvre,<sup>6</sup> the handle of which is carved with a guitar-player standing on a small bark (in this case with duck-headed terminals) against a back-ground of lotos-flowers and water-birds.

The lotos-tipped boat was also taken over into Phœnician art and appears on the silver tazza from the Bernardini tomb at Palestrina,<sup>7</sup> and on an ivory plaque from the same deposit.<sup>8</sup> On the first of these the mummified Osiris is seen standing in the middle of the bark with a Horus on either side.

The Egyptian figure of the present design standing on a base which may be regarded as an ornamental derivative of the lotos-tipped Nile-boat receives another aquatic touch from the two water-birds that he grasps in either hand.

Here again, as it seems to me, we have a formalized reproduction of a familiar Nile scene—the fowler, namely, on his boat, seizing the trophies of his sport. A common subject of Egyptian paintings is the duck-catcher

<sup>5</sup> Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, tav. cxvii. 1 (funereal boat with covered bier), and *Mon. del Culto*, tav. lxxviii.

<sup>6</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, *L'Égypte*, p. 845, Fig. 586.

<sup>7</sup> *Monumenti dell' Inst. &c. x. t. xxxii*. It is engraved with the Phœnician inscription

*Emonni 'ear ben 'Asta*, the style of which is compared by Fabiani (*Ann. dell' Inst. &c.* 1876, 258 *segg.*) to that of Assyrian contracts of the 7th century B.C.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* tav. xxxi.; Perr. et Chip. *Phénicie*, p. 853, Fig. 623.



taking the captured water-fowl out of the trap set among the lotoses on the surface of the water, and so constructed that several birds could be taken at once. This was a sport in which Pharaohs themselves delighted, and it forms the subject of numerous Egyptian paintings. In one case a man is seen with one duck already held by the neck, and with outstretched hand grasping another within the net.<sup>9</sup> In another representation the duck-catcher has already extracted two birds which he holds by the neck in either hand,<sup>10</sup> or again we see two fowlers standing on a Nile-boat each holding a bird by the wings, while further trophies of their sport have been placed in a cage at the stern.<sup>11</sup> In other cases the sport is of a different character—the fowler standing in the middle of the boat—on the prow of which sits a decoy-duck—and with a throwing-stick<sup>11a</sup> killing the water-birds as they rise from the aquatic plants along the river-side. Possibly the upright position of the figure in the design before us is due to this version of the pastime. The birds themselves on these Egyptian monuments are seen feeding on lotos plants; on the Ægina jewel they are apparently standing on the stalk and picking at the bud. On the tomb of a king of the Eighteenth Dynasty the fowler is seen on a boat the ends of which terminate, like the base of the present design, in two lotos flowers; and a similar motive belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty occurs at Benihassan.<sup>11b</sup> The boats themselves, indeed, seem to have been made of reeds or papyrus, like the legendary craft of Isis.

This simple every-day incident of Nile life has in the case of the Mykênæan jewel been adapted for decorative purposes and thrown into an evenly-balanced geometrical form, in consonance with art traditions which we are led more often to associate with Oriental than with Egyptian art. It would not, indeed, be correct to say that this kind of scheme is wholly unknown in Egypt. A certain parallelism may be found, for instance, in the somewhat late hieroglyphic symbol for *Kes* or *Kras*, the original signification of which seems to be to 'subdue' or 'conquer,' in which a human figure is seen astride between two serpents, the necks of which he grasps in either hand, or at times appears in a similar attitude between two giraffes standing back to back. As a rule, however, this class of scheme with its opposed or confronted animal forms, is more Oriental in its range. It is a heraldic style, born of the infancy of perspective which needed to see two sides of the same

<sup>9</sup> Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, No. vii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* No. v.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.* No. vi.

<sup>11a</sup> Cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1878 ed.) vol. ii. 104 seqq. It is worth remarking in this connexion that the throwing-stick supplies another link between Egypt and the Mykênæan world. Upon the siege-scene brought to light by careful cleaning on one of the silver fragments of vases from the Akropolis Tomb No. 4 at Mykênæ, there are seen strewing the ground beneath the com-

batants—together with oval objects representing sling-stones—certain incised figures the significance of which has hitherto remained unnoticed. They are, in fact, throwing-sticks, of a form that strikingly recalls the Australian *tombat*. The throwers of these are not seen, and, as the missiles did not return to them but lay where they were thrown, it becomes evident that the name *boomerang* would be a misnomer. The throwing-stick is also Syrian.

<sup>11b</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, &c., *Abth.* iii. Bl. 113. *Ib.* *Abth.* ii. Bl. 120.



object, and which is still traceable in its most rudimentary form in the double-bodied lion or winged ram, each with a single head, of Mykênæan gems. Only in the present case we see rather the echo of the old Babylonian form of the king or hero between two opposed animals,—a scheme which has also left its impress on the glyptic art of Mykênæ; as, for instance, in its design of a human figure in a purely Babylonian attitude between two composite monsters on a rock-crystal lentoid gem from Phigalia.<sup>12</sup> Winged genii holding in either hand a bird by the legs appear in Assyrian tablets.<sup>13</sup>

As applied to birds the scheme is further familiar to Mykênæan art in the case of a series of representations on engraved stones of a female figure in characteristic Mykênæan dress holding in either hand a water-fowl.<sup>14</sup> In these again we have good reasons for seeing the prototype of that version of the 'Asiatic Artemis' in which she is seen grasping two swans.<sup>15</sup> Nor is the male figure between two birds itself unknown to the later art of Greece. On a Dipylon vase from Athens<sup>16</sup> a typical male figure with a sword slung at his side is seen reaching out his arms on either side towards a large water-bird. On a beautiful archaic bronze relief discovered by Mr. Bather among the Akropolis finds at Athens<sup>17</sup> a winged figure of a naked youth holds a goose by the neck in either hand.

It must be allowed that in the design before us, although the original elements are all Egyptian and the subject itself in all probability borrowed from a very simple scene of Nile life, the whole has as it were been recast in a more Oriental mould. The relation which the present scheme bears to its naturalistic Egyptian prototype recalls the creations of somewhat late Phœnician and Assyrian art. The base on which the figure stands is no longer a simple boat. It is ornamentalized by the addition of a central lotos-flower to those at the two extremities. And in this respect it is closely assimilated to the lowest member of the Sacred Tree as seen on Cypriote Phœnician silver bowls or on such ornamental compositions as that shown on an ivory tablet from Nineveh in the British Museum—itsself of, perhaps, Phœnician or strongly Egyptianizing<sup>18</sup> work—where two griffins are seen on either side perched on the projecting sprays of a lotos-capital, much as the water-

<sup>12</sup> Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 55, Fig. a.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Layard, *Discoveries*, p. 609, from Kouyoundjik; Perr. et Chip. *Chaldée*, &c., p. 696, Fig. 323.

<sup>14</sup> Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 86, Fig. 56a. In this case she holds the birds by the wings and below are wavy lines indicative of water. On a three-sided amethyst from the Vaphio tomb the same female figure is seen holding up a bird in either hand by the neck (*Εφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1890, Pl. X. 5).

<sup>15</sup> It has been already pointed out by Milchhöfer (*Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 87) that My-

kênæan art supplies the forerunners of the Greek Artemis: and fresh evidence on this point has now accumulated. (See Tsountas, *Εφ. ἀρχ.* 1891, p. 43, &c.)

<sup>16</sup> In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

<sup>17</sup> To be described in this volume of the *Hellenic Journal*. It seems to me that the pointed projection on the chin of this fine archaic Greek figure is traceable to the small horn-like beard of Egyptian fashion.

<sup>18</sup> Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st series, Pl. 90, Fig. 21; Perr. et Chip. *Chaldée*, &c. p. 535, Fig. 249.



fowl on the Ægina jewel. More than this, there is in the present case a peculiarity about the lotos-flower—the circular boss, namely, from which it springs—which is a characteristic accompaniment of the same ornament on the paintings of the North-West Palace<sup>19</sup> at Nineveh, and on ivories of the same provenience.<sup>20</sup>



FIG. 2.

It further appears that a scheme akin to that of the Ægina pendant was reproduced in a more primitive style on certain ornaments of bronze-work which characterize the late Bronze and early Iron Age of Italy and Central Europe. On an open-work bronze disk of that period in the Museum of



S. FRANCESCO HOARD BOLOGNA

FIG. 3.

Bologna<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 3) is seen a rude figure of a man with outstretched arms on either side of whom is seen a large duck—the ducks as on the Ægina pendant looking outward and standing on the up-curving border of the design, with which their beaks coalesce.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Layard, *Mon.* 1st series, Pl. 86, 87; Perr. et Chip. *Chaldée*, &c., p. 291, Fig. 118.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Perr. et Chip. *op. cit.* p. 730, Fig. 391.

<sup>21</sup> See De Linas, *Les Origines de l'Orfèverie cloisonnée*, t. iii. p. 240, who first published

the ornament from a photograph supplied by Count Gozzadini. It was found in the *dolium* containing the great bronze-founder's hoard, but had escaped notice in the first enumeration of its contents.



The circumstances under which this North-Etruscan object was discovered lend additional value to the parallel that it supplies. It was found in the great jar containing fourteen thousand bronze objects,—representing an ancient bronze-founder's hoard,—near the Church of S. Francesco in Bologna. This hoard, as Montelius has shown,<sup>22</sup> dates from the end of the Bronze Age in that Italian region and in all probability goes back to the ninth century before our era. A similar specimen exists in the British Museum.

A closely allied open-work ornament of bronze with two ducks on either side of a central object, which has been unfortunately broken away, came to light in the ancient cemetery of Tarquinii<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 4). Another, the central design of which however was simply a rude duck with two heads and necks (one broken) and a single body, was found at Vetulonia<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 5). In this case the



TARQUINII  
FIG. 4.



VETULONIA  
FIG. 5.

double curves on which the bird stands and the rings for pendant ornaments below supply an additional link with the Ægina jewel. This object belongs to the same period as that from Bologna, and it would not be difficult to cite other parallel ornaments in the same open-work style from the early well-tombs of Italy. At a somewhat later date the same designs were taken over by Celtic artificers.<sup>24b</sup>

The thin disks of gold suspended by the small chains from the base of the Ægina ornament also find their affinities in the same direction. Similar small disks with the same punctuations round their rim and at their centre are in fact found suspended in the same way from the base of certain Hallstatt fibulæ,<sup>25</sup> and a parallel type occurs in the Italian well-tombs, such as those of

<sup>22</sup> *Spännen från Bronsåldern*, p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> G. Ghirardini, *Scavi nel sepolcreto antichissimo tarquiniese* (Not. degli Scavi, 1882, tav. xiii. bis, 19 and p. 190). He compares a similar ornament from Villanova (Gozzadini, *Di un Sep.*, &c., tav. vi. 9).

<sup>24</sup> Isidoro Falchi, *Vetulonia*, tav. xviii. 16. In the Musée Ravenstein (No. 1207) is another similar ornament from Chiusi with a single

duck.

<sup>24b</sup> A 'Late Celtic' open-work disk of the same general type, with two confronted ducks, occurred in the barrow of Wald-Algesheim (Auss'm Weerth, *Grabfund von Wald-Algesheim*, taf. v. 1. Ländenschmitt, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. iii. H. 1).

<sup>25</sup> Von Sacken, *Grabsfeld von Hallstatt*, taf. xv. 1. *Matériaux*, &c. 1886, p. 54.



Corneto-Tarquinia. In these cases however the chains are longer. Short chains for pendants such as those of the Ægina jewel are on the other hand seen in the case of the diadems and other objects from the Akropolis Graves of Mykênæ, and though small flat disks for suspension do not seem to have been used in the period of Mykênæan art to which the Akropolis Graves belong, specimens very similar to those before us have been found in some of the later interments of the Lower City; and a very close parallel will be seen in a Cretan gold ornament in the British Museum, consisting of a native wild goat or *Agrimi*, from the lower part of which three small flat disks like those before us are suspended by loops and twisted wires.<sup>26</sup>

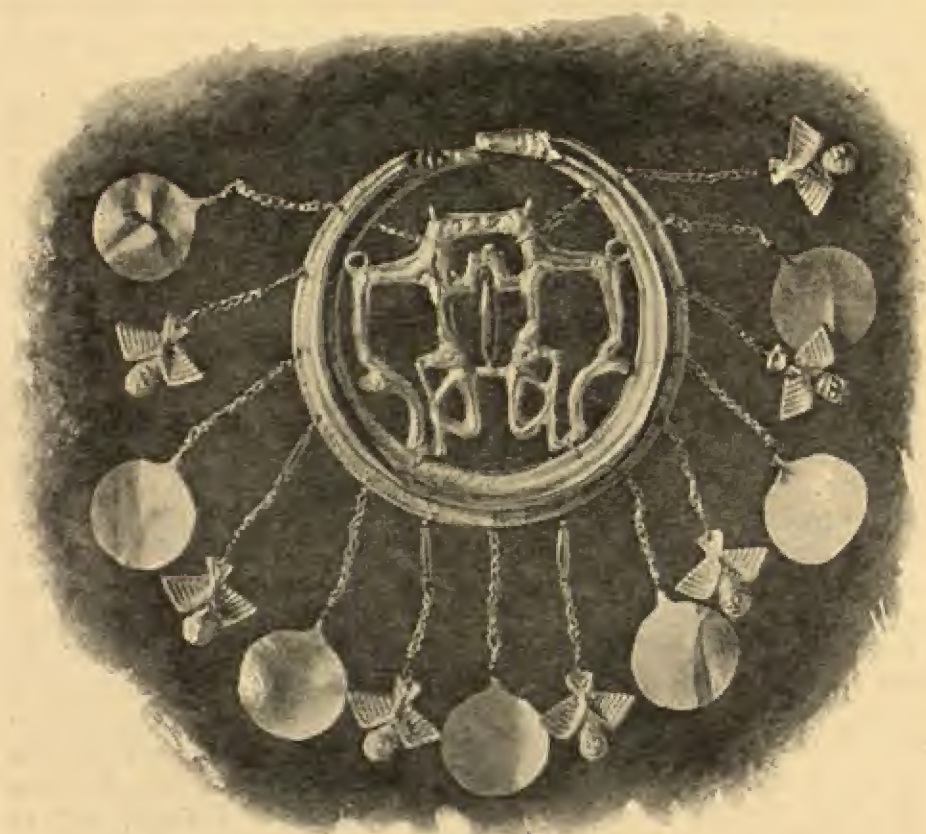


FIG. 6.

C.—Four gold penannular ornaments with open-work centres containing figures of dogs and apes and pendant disks and owls. Fig. 6. Size (with pendants) 15 × 11.5 cm. The outer border of the jewel consists of two thin

<sup>26</sup> It is engraved in Perr. et Chip. *Phénicie*, &c., p. 839, Fig. 610.



plates, hollow within, and joined together, as in the case of the preceding object, by folding over their edges. The central decoration is formed in the same way and looped on to the outer border.

The penannular ring, which forms the outer border, ends in what are apparently two snakes' heads. The upper part of the decorative arrangement within consists of two confronted mastiffs with curled tails and a ring round each of their necks by which they are chained to the outer border. Beneath their raised paws is a long red carnelian bead, and the other fore-paws rest on the heads of two cynocephali, squatting back to back with their hands clasped against their noses. Round the lower part of the body of each runs a ring or girdle. In front of the apes on either side is a curved object which supports the hind-legs of the dogs. Three more red carnelian beads, some of them ribbed, are strung to the small chains from which three of the small owls below are suspended.

It will be seen at once that the general character of the present design—the outer circle with pendants, the open-work figures within, grouped in an evenly balanced heraldic manner—agrees with that of Fig. 2. We are led once more into the same cycle of comparisons. The hounds with their massive build, their up-turned tails, and the collar round their necks, somewhat recall Assyrian types. The hunting of apes is a known Phœnician subject, appearing on a silver tazza from Palestrina.<sup>27</sup> Terra-cotta figures of cynocephali in a like attitude, with their hands to their noses, are found at Thebes and elsewhere in Bœotian deposits of the 'Dipylon' period. But in this, as in the preceding instance, the closest parallels are perhaps to be found in certain bronze open-work figures from early Italian cemeteries, which must in all probability be regarded as native imitations of Phœnician products. On an ornament of this nature from Vetulonia<sup>28</sup> rude simian figures are seen squatted back to back as in the case of the Ægina jewel. Some amber ornaments from the same cemetery,<sup>29</sup> in the shape of a squatting cynocephalus ape holding his nose in his hands, present the closest parallel with the figures before us. In the Bernardini tomb at Palestrina<sup>30</sup> rude bronze figures of apes occurred, one of them forming the ornament to a fibula, and among the attachments of a tripod-lebes from the same deposit appear curly-tailed dogs with collars round their neck. On the contemporary bronze ornaments of Sardinia apes as well as dogs are also abundant, and porcelain figures of apes of Egyptianizing Phœnician fabric are known from Marathus (Umrit). The cynocephalus itself was procured in Ethiopia, and, as the sacred animal of Thoth, had held an important place in Egyptian religious art.

The pendant owls are seemingly quite unique. They will be found to recur in the case of a necklace to be described below, and find their analogy in the pendant ducks of other jewels from the same deposit.

<sup>27</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. tav. xxxi.; Ferr. et Chip., *Phénicie*, &c., p. 769, Fig. 543.

<sup>28</sup> I. Falchi, *Vetulonia*, tav. xvii. 11.

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.* tav. vii. 4, see p. 101.

<sup>30</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. tav. xxxi. a; *Annali*, 1876, 250; *Bull.* 1876, 130.



*D.*—Gold pendant ornament consisting of a lion's head and attachment. The head is hollow and has an aperture on either side for the insertion of ring for suspension. A pin is fixed in its crown, the lower part of which runs through an oval boat-like object, while from its lower extremity hangs a chain with a small duck. Two other chains with ducks are suspended from the ends of the boat, and two more, one in front and one behind the lion's neck, are fitted with pointed ovate pendants. Round the lion's neck is an ornamental band consisting of circles and connecting tangents (Fig. 7).

The height from the top of the lion's head to the end of the central pendant is 8 cm.



FIG. 7.

It is evident that some intermediate member between the lion's head and the boat-like receptacle is wanting and we may infer that it originally consisted of some more perishable material, perhaps amber or bone. The form of the gold receptacle however shows that the lower part of it was rounded, and coupling this fact with the protruding lion's head above it is impossible not to be struck with the parallelism displayed between the object



before us and a well-known Egyptian ornament—the so-called ‘Ægis’ or collar, the central figure of which above is the head of the lion-headed Goddess, Sekhet.<sup>31</sup> The adaptation has of course, in this as in the other instance cited, been free, and the pendants here (as no doubt in the earlier form of the Egyptian ornament) hang loose and are not merely indicated by engravings on a flat semicircle.

The pendant ducks on the other hand take us into the same cycle of comparisons as that to which we have been already led by the suspended disklets and by the open-work designs of the ornaments already described. The duck as a decorative element is specially characteristic of the metal-work belonging to the late Bronze and early Iron Age in Greece, Italy, and Central Europe, and to the type of European culture to which the broadest extension of the name of Hallstatt has been applied. As a pendant in bronze-work it is found, though sparsely, in early Italian cemeteries,<sup>32</sup> in the Southern Provinces of Austria, and recurs at Olympia,<sup>33</sup> while on the other hand it is highly characteristic of the Caucasian cemeteries belonging to the same transitional period<sup>34</sup> and ranges to Northern Russia<sup>35</sup>.

Pendant ducks seem to be foreign to Egyptian or Egyptianizing Phœnician art, though the duck itself was frequently employed as an ornamental motive by the Egyptians, as, for instance, for toilet-boxes of wood or ivory. And these duck-caskets became in fact the progenitors of a class of duck receptacles of bronze, fitted with wheels below like Egyptian toy-birds, that characterise the Early Iron Age deposits of Italy and the Danubian regions.<sup>36</sup> It is possible, indeed, that the adoption of the duck as a pendant of jewelry like the present was influenced by the Egyptian amulet pendants in the form of the Sacred Hawk. On the ‘Ægis’ referred to above as the probable source of the ornament before us, the head and wing of the Sacred Hawk appears, suggestively, on either side of the head of the lion-headed Goddess.

*E.*—Gold pendant ornament, (Fig. 8) consisting of a flat curved plate ending in two *repoussé* heads, the upper part of each of which is fitted with a loop for suspension. From the chins of the terminal heads and the lower margin of the plate hang small gold disklets, ten in number. The length of the ornament is 10·6 cent.

<sup>31</sup> See for instance the specimen in the Louvre. Perr. et Chip. *Égypte*, p. 334, Fig. 369: xxii. Dyn.

<sup>32</sup> *E.g.* at Vetulonia; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, tav. xiii. 7, p. 146. It was found in a *pozetto*, inside an ossuary, and apparently was a pendant of a necklace found in the same urn.

<sup>33</sup> *Ausgr. von Olympia*, Atlas, taf. xxiv. 421. For duck ornaments see also t. xiii. 210, 210b, 211.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. R. Virchow, *Gräberfeld von Koban*, Atlas, taf. viii. 1, 3; taf. x. 5, 6; taf. xi. 6a, 6b. E. Chantre, *Recherches Anthropologiques*

*dans le Caucase*, Atlas t. ii. xxiv. 5–10; xxvi. 8. Numerous other specimens are to be seen in the Museum at Tiflis.

<sup>35</sup> See for instance Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, p. 512, No. 989 (*Antiquités Mérielles*: Vladimir).

<sup>36</sup> Specimens of these are known from Corneto-Tarquinius (*N. d. Scavi*, 1881, tav. v. 24, p. 361), Salerno (*Mus. Ravenstein*, No. 1169), Viterbo (*ib.*), Glasinac in Bosnia (*Mith. d. Anth. Ges. in Wien*, 1881, p. 289 *seqq.*), and Transylvania. Similar in clay from Este (*N. d. Scavi*, 1882, tav. iii. 1, p. 18).



The embossed heads and the intervening curve are backed by a thicker gold plate which, as in the case of the Vaphio cups, conceals the hollow side of the *repoussé* work and gives the whole the appearance of a solid relief with a flat back. As in that case too, the embossed work has been supplemented by careful tooling of the surface, the hair and the borders of the eyes being very finely engraved. The eyes and eyebrows are at present hollow, but they were originally filled with thin accurately cut slices of blue glass-paste, a particle of which is still to be seen adhering to a corner of the right eyebrow.

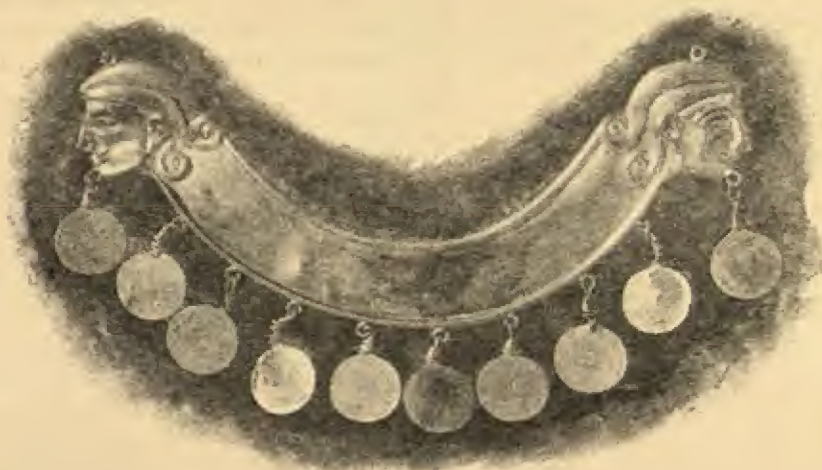


FIG. 8.

The terminal heads of this ornament both in physiognomy and treatment present a decided analogy to some heads of sphinxes upon ivories from the N. W. Palace at Nineveh.<sup>35</sup> The combing back of the hair in finely cut parallel lines and curves, and the coils in which the locks terminate, the outline of the nose and lips, the setting of the eyes and the boldly marked eyebrows may be mentioned among points of resemblance. The Sphinxes referred to have, it is true, a single coil to the hair, but the second curl is easily suggested by the griffins with which they are associated in the same series of small ivories.

The slices of blue glass-paste cut out and inserted into the eyebrows and eyes also find a very close parallel in the same quarter. The ivories in question, to which I have already had occasion to refer in connexion with the lotos-boat design of jewel *B.*, are in several cases adorned with inlaid work in gold and lapis lazuli, applied in much the same manner—for instance, as a filling for the eyes and eyebrows. But this quasi-enamelling will be found still better illustrated by the gold rings (*Q* to *T*) to be described below.

<sup>35</sup> See especially that in the British Museum marked N. C. 221. Some of these ivories are perhaps of Phœnician work.



## NECKLACES.

*F.*—Necklace of gold and carnelian beads with pendant (Fig. 9). The gold beads are of thin hollow plate honeycombed with shallow cup-shaped impressions. The pendants are of two kinds: 1, hollow gold drops suspended by small chains; 2, ornaments in the shape of a hand grasping a woman's breast from beneath which, in each case, hangs a small acorn of an olive-green stone in a gold cup.

The hand and breast ornaments are alternately of blue glass-paste and gold plate. The backs are flat. Those made of gold are hollow within and formed of two parts, an embossed upper plate overlapping the edge of a thicker flat plate below.



FIG. 9.

This symbolic device which recurs again in carnelian in the case of a pendant attached to another necklace (*G*) described below, has an evident reference to a Goddess of fecundity. The action is that seen in figures of Isis giving suck to Horus and of Mylitta or of Istar with or without a babe. It is to be observed that there exists in the Museum at Cagliari a Phœnician gold earring<sup>20</sup> in the form of a bust of Isis holding both breasts which affords a parallel instance of this symbolic idea applied to ornament. From the character of the symbolism we are entitled to conclude that the Ægina necklaces like the Sardinian earring formed parts of feminine attire. It is moreover evident that they were worn as charms or talismans.

*G.*—Necklace of carnelian and ribbed gold beads with a triply perforated amethyst having the appearance of three beads united, and a carnelian hand holding a breast as above (Fig. 10).

The threefold perforation of the amethyst bead recalls an Egyptian pattern and shows that the other beads belonging to this necklace were arranged in three rows.

*H.*—Large necklace with pairs of gold beads in the shape of double crescents alternating with ribbed barrel-shaped beads, also of gold, and

<sup>20</sup> Perr. et Chip. *Phénicie*, p. 828, Fig. 589.



having at each end a carnelian bead incised so as to look like a succession of five smaller beads (Fig. 11).

I.—Smaller necklace of the same character as preceding, but with round carnelian beads between the lunate pairs (Fig. 12).

The ribbed gold beads on the above necklace closely conform to a type of ribbed porcelain beads common in Egyptian tombs, which are described by



FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.

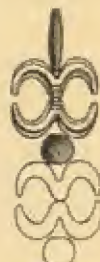


FIG. 12.

Professor Petrie as characteristic of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties, from 975 to about 800 B.C.<sup>26a</sup> The segmentation of the carnelian beads is also an Egyptian touch and is in fact the stone imitation of certain long glass beads intended to represent a series of small ones strung together.



FIG. 13.

The other carnelian beads of rounded elongated form found with the Ægina jewels are identical with a type well represented in the Maket tomb excavated by Mr. Petrie at Kahun, the latest element in which seems to be anterior to the Twenty-Second Dynasty.<sup>26b</sup>

<sup>26a</sup> *Notes on the Antiquities of Mykênæ*, Hell. Jour. XII. (1891) p. 201.

<sup>26b</sup> Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 23,

24. The Twenty-Second Dynasty begins about 975 B.C.



*J.*—Pendant; perhaps, of necklace. Gold owls (as above) suspended by chains of the same metal from carnelian capped with gold at both ends (Fig. 13).

#### GOLD PLATES FROM DRESS.

*K.*—Fifty-four gold plates with *repoussé* and punctuated ornamentation (Fig. 14). In the centre are rosettes of eight leaves and around are spiral ornaments ending in a *triquetra*. Round the circumference are four small holes for attachment, probably to some textile object.



FIG. 14.

These thin plates are of essentially the same character as those found by Dr. Schliemann in the shaft graves of Mykênæ, where they were originally attached to both men's and women's apparel. The character of the ornament moreover—the central rosette and surrounding spirals—corresponds very closely to some from Mykênæ,<sup>37</sup> though it here appears in a somewhat degenerate form and of smaller module.

#### DIADEMS.

*L.*—Diadem of thin gold plate with looped wire ends (Fig. 15).



FIG. 15.

*M.*—Parts of a diadem of thin gold plate, in three pieces; the original length c. 40 cm. (Fig. 16). It is decorated with a punctuated pattern consisting of a double row of returning spirals between two parallel lines.

<sup>37</sup> As for instance the plates from Grave V. (Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 258; Schliemann, p. 319, No. 481).



The spiral ornament, arranged as on the above diadem, is characteristically Mykênæan and recalls, for example, the design on the breastplate from the Akropolis Grave V. at Mykênæ as well as round the upper part of the body of the eyed pot from Grave I. The punctuated style of decoration

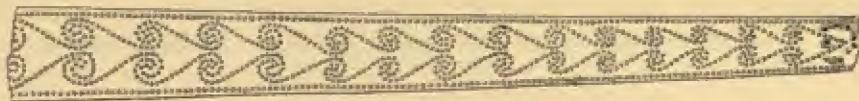


FIG. 16.

also occurs on a diadem and on pendants, perhaps belonging to it, from Grave IV. It has however a degenerate appearance and it is noteworthy that the diadem from Grave IV. on which it occurs differs in shape as well as in the paler character of the metal from the diadems with *repoussé* decorations from this and other interments of the Akropolis circle at Mykênæ, and in all probability was deposited there at a much later period than the others. The shape, which is much more elongated, answers to that of the Ægina diadem (Fig. 15), the acuminated ends with their looped wire catches occurring in both examples. Narrow diadems with punctuated lines, also apparently belonging to a very late Mykênæan period, may be seen in the Polytechnion at Athens.

There was also found among the Ægina jewels another plain diadem still narrower than the above but unfortunately imperfect, as well as parts of other diadems and a gold band.

#### BRACELET AND RINGS.

*N.*—Bracelet of solid gold with slightly incurved sides. Weight 52·4 grammes (Fig. 17).

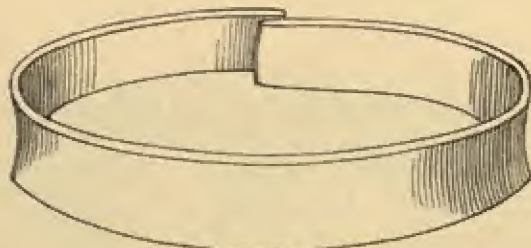


FIG. 17.

*O.*—Five rings of solid gold linked together. The diameter of each is *c.* 2.8 cm. and the thickness of the rings *c.* 0.25 cm.

Their weights are severally 8.6, 7.6, 8.7, 8.6, and 8.6 grammes. The average weight is therefore about 8.4 grammes, the highest being 8.7. Dividing the weight of the bracelet (*N.*) by 6 we also find a unit of about



8·7 grammes or 135 grains. The standard thus arrived at corresponds with the Euboic-Attic.

It will be seen that the weight of the rings, and apparently that of the bracelet too, answers to a definite standard and there is every reason to suppose from their non-ornamental form that they actually served as ring-money. To the significance of this fact and of the existence of this Greek standard in a Mykénæan deposit we shall have occasion to return.<sup>38</sup>

#### FINGER RINGS.

*P.*—Besil of ring with hatched pattern (Fig. 18).



FIG. 18.

*Q.*—Ring of thin gold plate folded back so as to form a groove enclosing spirally fluted blue paste (Fig. 19 *a* and Fig. 19 *b*).



FIG. 19*b*.

*R.*—Double looped gold ring with grooves filled with pieces of blue glass-paste cut to shape and fitted together (Fig. 20). The interlocked loops of this ring recall the terminal loop ornaments frequent in Greek and, later, in Roman necklaces.



FIG. 19*a*.

FIG. 22*a*.

FIG. 20.

FIG. 21*a*.

<sup>38</sup> See p. 225.



*S.*—Gold ring with a hollow groove filled in the same way with pieces of cut blue paste divided by a kind of key ornament formed of small pieces of gold plate bent as below and applied to the groove of the ring. (Fig. 21*a* and Fig. 21*b*).

The border thus formed with its simple meander finds a very close parallel in the decorative bands of some Dipylon vases, as well as on some early Rhodian and kindred wares which are regarded by Dümmler as a late offshoot of the Mykēnæan.<sup>39</sup>

FIG. 21*b*.

The inlaid ornamentation of these rings and one yet to be mentioned (*T*) is of the same kind as that already noticed in the case of the eyes and eyebrows of the pendant ornament described above (*E*). In the rings however this system of inlaying can be studied with greater facility. The blue paste here inserted is evidently intended to represent lapis lazuli, the *khesbet* of the Egyptians, which was frequently used for inlaid work in gold, bronze, and other materials, at least from the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty onwards.<sup>40</sup> It is employed with other stones in the regalia of Queen Aah-hotep, and in the gold pectoral of Rameses II., and its paste imitations were early applied in the same manner as the stone. In the case of the rings before us the blue glass-paste has been fitted in to the grooves and sockets made for its reception, for the most part in the shape of small oblong slices. In larger and less rectangular spaces—as in ring *T*, to be described below—it forms a kind of mosaic work. In most instances it is inserted in grooves or cells cut out of the solid gold of the ring, in this respect resembling *champlevé* enamel. In the case of ring *S* however we see it divided by bent plates of gold fixed into the solid groove, so that the effect closely recalls that of the true *cloisonné* enamel. It will be seen that we have in the present series of rings a valuable illustration of the methods of incrustated-work in glass-paste which preceded the invention of the true art of enamelling.

*T.*—Massive gold ring with besil in the shape of a Bæotian shield, the interior of which is cut into narrow sockets set mosaic-fashion with pieces of the blue glass-paste (Figs. 22*a*, 22*b*).

#### THE ÆAKID SHIELD.

The shield of the last-mentioned ring is of considerable interest and has, as will be shown, a bearing on the date of the deposit. In form it

<sup>39</sup> *Jahrbuch d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1891, p. 262 seqq.

<sup>40</sup> See De Linas, *Les Origines de l'Orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, t. i. p. 19 seqq.



closely resembles the Boeotian shield as seen on coins of Thebes and other Boeotian cities from the middle of the sixth century onwards. But the

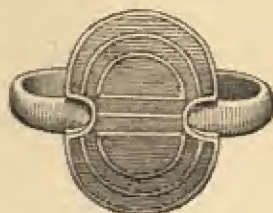
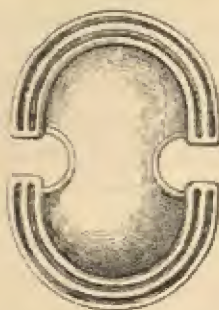


FIG. 22b.

appearance of this form on the coins by no means indicates that such shields were in ordinary use as late as the sixth century. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the buckler as a monetary type of the Boeotian League cities represents an archaic form associated with some national cult, perhaps of a heroic character.<sup>41</sup> A still nearer parallel as regards shape is however supplied by the coins of Salamis (Fig. 23), which though later in date go back like the other to an archaic model. In this instance indeed the parallel is so close that the triple ridge round the rim, which forms such a characteristic feature on the shield of the Ægina ring, is faithfully reproduced. We have here in fact, not only the same type of shield, but the same local variety of the type. And in this case not only is there no doubt as



SHIELD OF AJAX  
ON COINS OF SALAMIS.

FIG. 23.

to whose shield the monetary artist has intended to represent but its ownership has a direct connexion with Ægina. The shield on the Salaminian coin is the shield of the Telamonian Ajax, whose temple was the chief centre of the insular cult. But Ajax himself was the son of Æakos and represents the early Æginetan dynasty in the island. The shield of Ajax then and

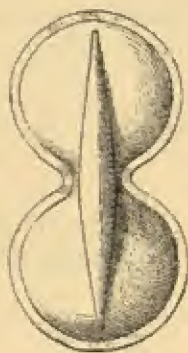
<sup>41</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 291 suggests that it was connected with the cult of Athena Itonia, in whose temple was held the Pamboeotian festival.

But it may rather have been intended to represent the shield of some legendary hero suspended in the temple.



the shield on our ring represent an Æakid badge and in this connexion the correspondence in form has a great interest.

It would be unsafe to infer too much from certain points of comparison between the shield before us and the familiar Dipylon type. The Dipylon shield is seen on Greek vases and other kindred wares at least as early as the beginning of the eighth century B.C.<sup>42</sup> and seems to have made its appearance in the Danube valley about the end of the second or the beginning of the first millennium before our era.<sup>43</sup> This 'Dipylon' type is commonly supposed to be a late development of a typical form of Mykēnæan shield as seen on



EARLY MYKĒNÆAN SHIELD

FROM SIGNET.

FIG. 24.

gems, ornaments,<sup>42a</sup> and inlaid blades. But its origin must be traced to another source. The Mykēnæan shield in question appears under two somewhat different aspects though both essentially belong to the same general type. In the one case,—as seen for instance in the hands of the lion-hunters on the dagger-blade found by Dr. Schliemann,<sup>44</sup>—it evidently

<sup>42</sup> For late developments of this Dipylon form see E. Pernice, *Geometrische Vase von Athen*, Athen. Mitth. 1892, pp. 211, 215.

<sup>42</sup> I note the occurrence of this type as an ornamental appendage, on a bronze pendant of the Late Hungarian Bronze Age from the Hoard of Rima-Szombat in the county of Gömör (*Arch. Értesítő*, 1886, vii. 11-14; cf. *Congr. Préh. Budapest*, vol. ii. Pl. 112, 4 and LIV. 1). Its wide extension and survival on the Asiatic side is shown by its appearance in a highly developed form in the hands of the guards of Darius on the walls of the palace at Persepolis.

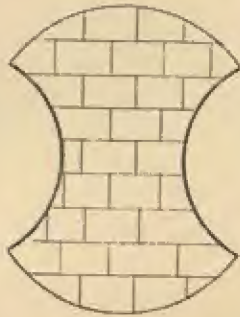
<sup>42a</sup> On ornamental imitations of this form of shield see Mr. Ernest Gardner's paper on 'Palladia from Mycenæ,' *Hellenic Journal*, xlii. p. 21 *seqq.* To the instances there given may be added the use of this form for the ornamental

head of a nail on the fragment of the silver vessel with the siege-scene found in the Fourth Akropolis Tomb at Mykēnæ; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1891 Pl. It is possible that the dumb-bell-like symbol, consisting of two disks with a connecting stem, to be seen on some Mykēnæan gems (e.g. B.M. Cat. No. 74), should be regarded as a variant form of this same Mykēnæan type. A shield of this shape actually occurs on a relief at Sendschirli.

<sup>44</sup> It seems to me possible that the long pointed boss of these Mykēnæan shields represents the original parrying-stick, which was probably the earliest form of shield. The combination of the parrying-stick and the target or body-shield may be illustrated from various parts of the world. In Sumatra it survives as a raised keel in front of an oar-like shield.



represents a large flexible disk—originally no doubt of hide—contracted at the middle probably by a thong that went across the back. In the other case we see a form, more suggestive of metal work, in which the shield almost divides itself into two round targets<sup>44a</sup> connected and covered by a projecting elongated boss which no doubt contained the handle (Fig. 24). The general effect of both varieties—although in both there is a slight incurvation at the centre—is to produce an 8-shaped outline—the upper and lower circumference curving outwards. But in the Dipylon type, the incurving sides are the most marked feature and it seems in fact simply to represent a slight development of the basket-work or wicker-covered shields such as those used by the Hittites and their allies from the western parts of Asia Minor at the time of their great invasion of Egypt in the fourteenth century B.C., as they are to be seen in the frescoes of Ibsamboul (see Figs. 25, 26). There are many circumstances which make it seem probable



SHIELD OF HITTITES AND  
THEIR ALLIES AT THE BATTLE  
OF KADESH c. 1350 B.C.

FIG. 25.



DIPYLON SHIELD

FIG. 26.

that the repulse of this invasion by Rameses II. eventually threw back the tide of migration,—in which the Dardanians, Mæonians, and other members of the Thraco-Phrygian stock seem to have taken a prominent part,—on the European side. It is certain, as I hope to show more in detail on another occasion, that towards the close of the Mykênæan period forms and decorative elements of purely Asianic origin make their appearance on the soil of Greece, and the occurrence of the 'Dipylon' type of shield is only a single example of a whole class of kindred phenomena.

There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that the type represented by the Æginetan shield on the ring and the sister forms of Salamis and

Among the Kaffirs the parrying-stick is preserved at the back of an elliptical body-shield; and this method is often followed by savage races.

<sup>44a</sup> Schuchhardt, p. 229, fig. 227; see too E. Gardner, *Hell. Jour.* xiii. p. 22, fig. 3, and com-

pare fig. 6, which is very suggestive of a prototype in leather. Similar forms are to be seen on a gold signet and gem from the Vaphio tomb ('*Ep. 'Apx.* 1890, Pl. X. figs. 7, 39). Tsountas (*op. cit.* p. 171) calls the object on the signet a 'rock,' but it is clearly a shield of this form.



Bœotia ought not be regarded as an outgrowth of the Dipylon class. The ridged border round their edge, and, in the case of the Bœotian and Salaminian forms, the general bossiness of the field are decided Mykênæan characteristics. The crescent-shaped curves at the sides moreover are only a natural development of the slight incurvation already noted in the case of the first variety of Mykênæan shield mentioned above, at the two points where the circumference was most drawn in by the thong at the back. As a matter of fact a form of shield closely approaching that of the Ægina ring—in which the border is already interrupted, and the elongated boss dispensed with as in the later 'Bœotian' class,—occurs already in what may be called the Second Period of Mykênæan Art. On a disk of grey stone from Grave No. 33 of those excavated by M. Tsountas in the lower City of Mykênæ a small shield of this form (see Fig. 27) had been engraved as the central ornament.<sup>43</sup> This grave contained a typical early fibula of the 'fiddle-bow' type and may date from the 12th century B.C. It is therefore clear that the



FIG. 27.

form represented on the Ægina ring is essentially of Mykênæan origin and the recurrence of the same type of shield as an Æakid badge in Salamis and among the Minyans of Bœotia affords an interesting evidence of the continuity of indigenous tradition. The 'Dorian' form on the other hand as seen on the Dipylon vases is Danubian and Asianic. Parallelism there is undoubtedly, but it stands to the Mykênæan type in a collateral rather than a filial relationship.

In this connexion is perhaps worth noticing a piece of tradition which according to the most obvious interpretation connected the shield of the Telamonian Ajax, and therefore probably the 'Æakid' type in Ægina too, with Bœotia. Homer, when describing the shield of Ajax,<sup>45</sup> which was formed of seven layers of bulls' hide plated with bronze, says that it was the work of Tychios 'the best of shield-cutters, who dwelt in Hylê,'—a name which seems most naturally to refer to the Hylê of Bœotia.<sup>46</sup> The fact that

<sup>43</sup> For this notice and the sketch of the object in question I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Myers.

<sup>45</sup> *Il.* vii. 219 seqq. :—

Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεα ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἥντε πύργον,  
Χάλκεον ἱπταβόειον, ἃ οἱ Τυχίος κάμει τεύχεον,  
Σκυτοτόμων ὄχ' ἀριστοί, "Τλην ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων...

<sup>46</sup> Helbig (*Homericæ Epos*, p. 17), as against

Riedenauer (*Handwerk und Handwerker*, p. 59) observes that Hylê need not be in Bœotia, as there were other places of the same name. But the fact that the traditional shield of Ajax as seen on the Salaminian coins was of the Bœotian type weighs in favour of the most obvious identification of the name.



the traditional form of the shield of Ajax as seen on the Salaminian coins was of Bœotian type is in harmony with this view. The Mykênæan element in the Bœotian shield is further brought out by the local Bœotian legend which ascribed the origin of the shield to Chalkos the son of the Minyan king Athamas.<sup>46a</sup>

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE ÆGINA TREASURE.

It will be seen from the above description of the Ægina hoard that it occupies a unique place amongst the hitherto known finds of early works of art on Greek soil. That in a sense it belongs to the same class of objects as those known from Dr. Schliemann's finds by the general name of Mykênæan can hardly be gainsaid. The gold cup with its returning spirals may indeed be regarded as a typical example of the Mykênæan decorative style; the roundels of thin gold plate, with their volute borders and central rosette, point clearly the same connexion, and the diadems with their punctuated patterns show a distinct affinity to the latest fillets of the same kind from the Akropolis Grave No. IV. of Mykênæ—a tomb, be it observed, which seems to contain objects of very discrepant dates.

But with these exceptions, which may be taken as evidence of the Mykênæan tradition, the actual points of comparison are by no means close. The circumstances of the find, indeed, which preclude us from knowing what objects of less intrinsic value may have been found with the gold relics, make mere negative evidence of little value in the present case, so that no particular weight need be attached to the absence of such objects as the impressed glass ornaments, so common in the later Mykênæan graves hitherto explored. But the whole *facies* of the hoard makes it abundantly evident that at the time when it was deposited very different influences were making themselves felt on the Greek coasts of the Ægean from those hitherto associated with Mykênæan culture.

There is here no trace of the naturalism such as, on the Vaphio cups and on many of the engraved gems, marks the highest development of Mykênæan art and places it, in the delineation of animal forms, almost on a level with the Assyrian sculpture of a considerably later date. Neither is there anything so undisguisedly Egyptian in style as some of the designs on the dagger-blades, nor are there objects of actual import from Egypt such as the scarabs and porcelain fragments that bear the name of Amenophis III. and his queen. On the other hand the symmetrically grouped and balanced schemes of Oriental art, which in the older group of Mykênæan remains are rather the exception, are here preponderant. Egyptian elements there are, as in the case of the bird-holding figure on the lotos-tipped Nile-boat, but they are assimilated in accordance with the heraldic Eastern tradition and not in the free spirit of the earlier Mykênæan art. We have here a whole series of groups of opposed or confronted animal forms.

<sup>46a</sup> Plin. vii. 200.



Everything points to a prevailing current of influence from the Asiatic side. More than one jewel, as we have seen, shows points of contact with certain ivory ornaments—most likely of Phœnician work—found in the North-West Palace of Nineveh. The appearance of the cynocephalus among the animal forms represented points clearly in the same direction. The hand-and-breast beads recall, as we have seen, a Phœnician gold earring with the bust of Isis clasping her breasts, which was meant no doubt like the others to be worn as a talisman of maternity. In the Egyptianizing figure seizing the two water-fowls this Oriental influence reaches its height. Taken by itself this combination of an Egyptian motive with an Oriental scheme might well suggest the actual handicraft of a Phœnician artificer.

Yet, with all this, it must still be allowed that neither this last nor any of the other objects which display this Orientalizing taste find any quite literal parallel amongst known Phœnician or Assyrian works. They conform up to a certain point, but there is always a certain element of originality. There are certain conventional turns in the true Oriental work, as for instance about the treatment of the lotos-sprays, which are here wanting. And we may well ask ourselves whether in the same number of jewels of pure Phœnician fabric we should not have come upon a sphinx or griffin, a winged human or animal figure, a Sacred Tree, a scarab, or the inevitable Bes.

The absence again of the lotos among the pendants of the necklaces is significant; neither do we find the Sacred Hawk. Their place is taken here by homely acorns, ducks, and owls.

Such, nevertheless, is the attitude of a certain school of criticism towards even the masterpieces of Mykênæan art that, in spite of these considerations, it would be too much to expect that no attempt will be made to claim as articles of Phœnician import the most conspicuous of the Ægina relics.

Now, with reference to any such theory of Phœnician import, it must first be pointed out that the Ægina jewels all hang together. We have, to begin with, a series of objects in the same style of open-work, wrought of thin *repoussé* plates of gold with a stouter backing behind them, in accordance with the best traditions of the Mykênæan goldsmith's art as seen in the Vaphio cups. On the other hand this series, which includes the larger ornaments of the find, is linked on to the smaller trinkets, such as the bracelets and rings, partly by the same method of goldwork, partly by the occurrence of the same system of inlaid work,—confined here to the paste imitations of lapis lazuli,—and further by the repetition of the same method of suspending small plates of gold in the shape of ducks, owls, or simple disks. In a word the whole series of objects is of the same fabric. They were wrought in the same workshops for the same *parures*.

On the other hand the 'Boeotian' shield, which is one of the most characteristic products of this fabric, is both traditionally Mykênæan and historically Greek. There is not the slightest evidence that such shields were in use among the Phœnicians. Here then we have a direct piece of



evidence tending to show that the jewels of the Ægina find were of native and not imported manufacture.

The pure Mykênæan tradition, as seen for instance on the gold cup and diadems, is itself a strong indication of indigenous fabric. In spite of every effort to bring it ready-made from Northern Syria<sup>47</sup> or elsewhere, Mykênæan art has an obstinate way of clinging to the mainland and islands of Greece. To take a simple example out of many. The noble representation of the bull-catching on the Vaphio cups, which we are asked to regard as of Syrian manufacture, cannot be separated from the fine animal figures, some representing parallel subjects, on the contemporary lentoid gems. But unfortunately, amongst the many gems found on the Syrian coast and the neighbouring tracts of Asia Minor, this Mykênæan class is conspicuous by its absence and the animal representations by their coarseness. On the other hand the inexhaustible source of the gems which reproduce the Vaphio style in glyptic art is Greece and its islands, in a principal degree Crete and the Peloponnese. One of these found at Gythion on the Laconian coast, representing a bull-hunting scene that recalls an incident on the Vaphio cup, is of Spartan basalt—the *lapis Lacedæmonius* of the ancients, and other Mykênæan gems of the finest style are known in the same local material.<sup>48</sup>

Several points of correspondence between the motives and ornaments of the Ægina jewels and those of the Greek geometrical style have also been noted and also tell in favour of indigenous manufacture. The scheme of the male figure seizing two water-fowl recurs, as we have seen, in the case of a Dipylon vase from Athens. The band of circles connected with tangents round the collar of the lion-headed ornament (*D*) recalls the familiar degeneration of the Mykênæan returning spiral as seen on geometrical metal-work and ceramics. The simple maeander or key pattern round the ring (Fig. 21*b*) finds its closest parallel in the same quarter.

Thus alike the pure Mykênæan tradition observable in the decoration and workmanship of the Ægina relics, the affinities shown with the early geometrical style of Greece and the occurrence of such a purely Greek type as the Boeotian shield, the buckler of the Telamonian Ajax, perhaps of the Æakid lords of Ægina itself, all point to local fabric. On the other hand, as we have seen, the whole series of objects hangs together. They were either all of them imported from the same foreign source or none. Is it conceivable, we may ask, that such wholesale correspondences with the

<sup>47</sup> Cf. for example Dr. Busolt's conclusion in his chapter on Mykênæan art prefixed to the recently issued vol. i. of the 2nd edit. of his *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 28: 'Alle Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht dafür dass die Goldbecher, ebenso wie die reichverzierten Dolchklingen Erzeugnisse der syrischen, nach ägyptischen Mustern und unter ägyptischen Einflüssen arbeitenden Industrie sind.' Pp. 104-106, &c. develop the extraordinary thesis that (with the exception of a small group) the Mykênæan

gems were also imported from Northern Syria.

<sup>48</sup> The Gythion gem is in my own collection as is also the original of Milchhofer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 80, fig. 51 (Cades, No. 76)—one of the finest existing specimens of Mykênæan glyptic art,—which is in the same material. It was therefore doubtless of Peloponnesian manufacture, though its provenience is not recorded. This gem was formerly in the Meyer collection at Liverpool.



indigenous arts of Greece would be found in a parcel of jewellery imported by a Phœnician merchant from a Syrian workshop?

We may venture then to regard the objects themselves as of Greek workmanship, though under strong Asiatic and no doubt to a great extent Phœnician influence. That preponderating influence is however of great value in affording us some chronological clues. It must itself be regarded as evidence that the great days of Mykênæan culture were already drawing to a close and that the earlier Thalattocracy of the Ægean was giving way before Sidonian enterprise.

As a guide to the approximate date of the Ægina deposit we have in fact more than one archæological landmark. When the present series of objects is compared with the hitherto known specimens of Mykênæan goldsmith art it becomes evident that, although—as for instance in the case of the cups—there are common elements, the general divergence in character is so marked as to imply a not inconsiderable gap. The Mykênæan goldsmith's work with which we have been hitherto acquainted belongs in the main to two groups. First we have that supplied by the earliest elements of the shaft-graves of the Mykênæan Akropolis. These are especially conspicuous in Grave IV., though some of the objects in that deposit seem to be of much later introduction. Among these early elements may be noted the dagger-blades recalling Egyptian work of the seventeenth or eighteenth century B.C., a fragment of pottery with translucent white on a dark red ground recalling the fabric of Théra, and a gold diadem and beaked vases with spiral work in a very primitive stage which fits on to older spiral reliefs on steatite cylinders and other objects from Melos, Amorgos and other Ægean islands, which in turn connect themselves with the simple spiral system that attained its apogee in Egypt about the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. As an indigenous Ægean tradition this simpler use of the returning spiral comes down from at least the end of the third millennium before our era. The great age of gem-engraving has not yet begun in the Period of Mykênæan Art illustrated by the early shaft-graves of the Akropolis. In Grave IV. no engraved gems occurred; in Grave III., which perhaps contained no elements quite so early as some of those in Grave IV., these are just beginning—one in a simple geometrical style with circles and tangents, fitting on, like the goldwork, to the earlier 'Ægean' style of gem-cutting. In Grave V. again we have, in the case of the breast-plate and the cups, examples of the simpler style of spiral work as applied to embossed surfaces of gold, and coupled again with pottery of very primitive character.

Secondly we have the later elements in the Akropolis Graves, the contents of the Akropolis Treasure and the Vaphio tholos as well as of some of the graves excavated in recent years in the Lower City of Mykênæ and elsewhere. This second group, which corresponds with the most flourishing period of Mykênæan gem-engraving, shows a greater variety and refinement in the embossed gold-work. The spiral and other decorative designs are more complicated and show a tendency to link themselves with flowers and



foliage, and also, it must be admitted, to degenerate into dotted or concentric circles. The animal and other forms are of a bold original style; and the naturalistic paintings, taken from sea-shore, river-bank and meadow, that decorate the pottery even of the earliest class, have a tendency to react on the ornamentation of the gold-work, where they take the shape of ferns, fig-leaves, palms, and other sprays. The form of some of the gold vases belonging to this group, such as that with the flower-pot of nursing palms from Akropolis Grave IV. of Mykênæ and the Vaphio cups, still find their nearest parallels on Egyptian frescoes of Thothmes III.'s time,—as early, that is, as the sixteenth century B.C.,—while the bold, spirited designs on the Vaphio cups are justly compared by Professor Petrie to the paintings of Khuenaten's Palace which go back to about 1400. Other Egyptian evidence, such as the results of Mr. Petrie's excavations at Gurob<sup>49</sup> and the repeated discovery of scarabs and porcelain fragments with the cartouche of Amenophis III. and Queen Ti (c. 1500 B.C.),<sup>50</sup> agrees in indicating the fifteenth century before our era as the central point of this the most flourishing period of Mykênæan art. The comparisons instituted by Mr. Petrie with Egyptian forms<sup>51</sup> lead us to conclude that some of the deposits illustrative of the great age of Mykênæan culture may go down to the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.

Yet even towards the close of this Second Period of Mykênæan art good examples of goldsmith's art begin to fail us. The period which succeeds—the Third Period according to this rough classification—is one of impoverishment and decay. The continuity of Mykênæan culture may still be traced on the soil of Greece, and in Cyprus and elsewhere,—perhaps in the wake of the Achæan migrations,—it had found new fields. But gold was obviously scarce. On the one hand the representatives of the older culture were being hard pressed by the Dorian invaders. On the other hand, if I read the archaeological evidence aright, new and artistically speaking less civilized influences from the mainland of Asia Minor were making themselves felt on the European shores of Greece. By the confluence of these two currents of influence—one Northern, one Asianic—was being formed in Greece the new 'geometrical' style, which itself to a large extent absorbed and assimilated Mykênæan elements. The Phœnician too, no doubt, profited by the confusion and the break up of the Mykênæan power to open new markets in the West and to extend his trade connexions.

Yet to a certain extent and in certain localities, such as for instance the Argolid and the islands, the Mykênæan culture, though doubtless influenced by these new forces, still held its ground. Its prolonged vitality is perhaps best attested by the unbroken tradition of the Mykênæan school of gem-engraving which lived on to provide the dies for the earliest coinages

<sup>49</sup> See Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, and 'Egyptian Bases of Greek History,' *Hellenic Journal* xi. (1890), p. 271 *seqq.*

<sup>50</sup> For a summary statement of the Egyptian

evidence see Steindorff, *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 11 *seqq.* and Cecil Smith, *Classical Review*, vi. 462 *seqq.*

<sup>51</sup> See *Hellenic Journal*, 1890 p. 273, 1891 p. 199 *seqq.*



of historic Greece. The continuity of ceramic types is shown by the survival of the Bügelkanne or false-necked amphora and the occurrence of painted vessels in the style of the 'warrior vase' from Mykênæ, as well as by the appearance of a new type of fibula, the outgrowth of the more primitive fiddle-bow-shaped one of the close of the preceding period and which itself supplied the prototype of the Dipylon form.<sup>52</sup> Cast bronze figures in an Egyptianizing style, perhaps of Cypro-Phœnician import, are now found for the first time.<sup>53</sup> Some gold plaques, such as one in the Polytechnion at Athens in which the diverging spiral ornament is associated with rows of orientalizing animals, may best be classed with the remains of this late Mykênæan age.

Hitherto, however, the remains of gold-work belonging to this late period have been extremely scarce. Hence the great value of the present hoard, which must evidently be brought down to the latest age of Mykênæan art. The great difference in style between the Ægina jewels and those so well represented alike of the Archaic and of the most flourishing period of Mykênæan culture brings them down well beyond their date. The cup indeed with its diverging spiral ornament shows the old tradition living on in a very pure form, though the workmanship is somewhat less bold than that of the same kind of decoration on the earlier gold plates and vases. On the other hand the evidence of strong Phœnician influence and of contact with the Geometrical Style is quite in keeping with what we know of other remains of this late period.

Other collateral evidence bears out the same approximate chronology. The parallels noticed with ornament found in the North-West Palace at Nineveh bring us to the first half of the ninth century B.C. and the reign of Assurnazirpal (885—860). Some of the beads suggest Egyptian comparisons which take us to the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties—975 to c. 800 B.C. Some late Phœnician parallels on the other hand, suggested by some objects in the Palestrina tombs, reach down to the seventh century B.C. The perpetuation, again, of certain forms of ornament and the occurrence of the Salaminian shield lead us to the borders of the historic period of Greece.

The prolongation moreover of an offshoot of Mykênæan culture on the Lower Danube, of which other remarkable evidence exists, also affords some valuable chronological data. The parallelism between the gold cup of Ægina and ceramic forms found in Hungary and its borderlands and belonging there to the late Bronze Age brings us down to the first centuries of the first millennium B.C.

<sup>52</sup> To the question of the Mykênæan fibulae I hope to return on another occasion. Gold fibulae of this type are found in Cyprus. Two from Paphos, found in company with a Bügelkanne with geometric ornament, are in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, presented by the Cyprus Exploration Committee. Another from

Kition, also of gold and of the same form as the above, is in the New York Museum. It is engraved by Perrot et Chipiez, *Phénicie*, &c. p. 831, Fig. 595.

<sup>53</sup> See Tsountas, *Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν*; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, p. 22 *seqq.*, and Pl. II. Figs. 1, 4, 4a.



On the other hand the comparisons instituted with certain types and ornaments belonging to the 'Hallstatt' group in Italy and Central Europe afford a valuable corroboration of the chronological data supplied from other sources. It has been pointed out that the open-work jewels of the Ægina Treasure, such as that exhibiting the male figure holding the two water-fowl, or that with the apes and confronted dogs, supply, if not the prototypes, at least the highest artistic representatives of a whole class of rude open-work ornaments of bronze which characterize the late Bronze and early Iron Age deposits of Italy, some of which, as for instance that from the hoard of S. Francesco at Bologna, go back to the ninth century before our era while others come down to the eighth century. The pendant ducks and disks find analogies in the same quarter, and the comparison extends, as we have seen, to the early cemeteries of the Caucasus, which may be referred to the ninth and succeeding centuries B.C. But what makes this last comparison specially interesting is the fact that the bronze fibulæ found at Koban and in other Caucasian cemeteries are modelled on the late Mykēnæan type already referred to as characteristic of the same period. The statement of Ezechiel,<sup>54</sup> who speaks of Javan, or the Ionian Greeks, as bringing in conjunction with Mesech (the Moschi) and Tubal (the Tibarenes) vessels of brass, made no doubt from the ore of that Caucasian region, to the Tyrian markets, seems thus to receive a remarkable confirmation—and inclines us to suppose that the trade connexions of the Ionians with those Pontic shores had begun some time before the days of Ezechiel.

From these converging lines of evidence, not one of which crosses the other in the slightest degree, we are led to refer the deposit of the Ægina Treasure to the eighth or ninth century before our era or approximately to about 800 B.C.

We must therefore infer that up to about that date Ægina had remained an insular stronghold of Achæan power and still upheld something of the traditional culture of Mykēnæ. From the wealth of gold contained in the hoard itself we may gather that in those days of Achæan depression the island folk had retained something of the well-being of old times and that the commercial prosperity which distinguished Ægina in the early days of classical Greece went back in fact to an older period.

These conclusions will be found to agree very well with what is traditionally known of the early history of Ægina. Of the ancient superiority of the Æginetans in maritime craft a record has been preserved by Hesiod<sup>55</sup>

*Οἱ δ' ἦτοι πρῶτοι ζεῦξαν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας,  
Πρῶτοι δ' ἰστία θέντο νεῶς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο.*

<sup>54</sup> Ch. xx. v. 13, 'Javan, Tubal, and Meshech they were thy traffickers; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass for thy

merchandise.'

<sup>55</sup> *Catal. Fragm.* 96, Kinkel.



According to Pausanias the Æginetans in very early times had traded with the Arcadians through the Eleian port of Kyllênê. Politically their old importance was shown by their participation, along with Athens, Orchomenos and other cities, in the Amphiktyony of Kalauria.

Ægina is said to have been conquered by the Dorians of Epidauros, but from the Mykênæan and oriental character of jewels of the present hoard we must infer that this conquest had not been effected at the time of its deposit. In any case her industrial pre-eminence survived the shock, nor as a matter of fact was Ægina long dependent on its Dorian metropolis. The extensive commerce of the Æginetans is attested by their later connexion with Naukratis, where the temple of Zeus was built by them, as well as by the plantation of a factory on the Umbrian coast. But the wide-spread adoption of their monetary standard is indeed the best tribute to their commercial superiority. Pheidôn, King of Argos, whose supremacy extended over the island, is said, according to the well-known tradition, to have first struck coins in Ægina, and it is certain that the coinage of Ægina was the earliest of European Greece, dating back to the seventh century before our era.

The standard on which these coins were struck is known as the Æginetan and, according to Dr. Head,<sup>56</sup> was probably a degraded form of the Phœnician standard. The original weight of the stater was somewhat over 200 grs. (12.960 grammes). On the other hand the remarkable conformity that has already been noticed in the weight of the gold rings of the Ægina treasure<sup>57</sup> which weigh on an average exactly 130 grains (8.4 grammes), the highest being 135 grs. (8.7 grammes), points to the existence of a pre-Pheidônian stater in the island almost exactly answering to the Euboic silver stater of 135 grs. This find therefore throws a new light on the introduction of the Euboic and Attic standard into Greece. Assuming that the highest weight of the rings—135 grains—most nearly represents the original gold standard, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here an original Mykênæan standard, based perhaps on a slight reduction of the Egyptian Kat of 140 grains.<sup>58</sup> It is far more likely, and indeed it is in accordance with usual precedent, that a commercial people should have slightly reduced a borrowed standard than that they should have deliberately raised it, as would have been the case were we to suppose, as has been hitherto assumed, that this weight was borrowed from the light Assyrian and Babylonian stater of 130 gr. On the other hand it is almost inconceivable that a people so advanced in arts and commerce as the Mykênæans should have had no standard of their own and that the Ionian colonists on the coasts of Asia Minor should first have taken the idea of borrowing an eastern standard some seven centuries after the great days of Agamemnôn's City.

<sup>56</sup> *B. M. Cat. Attica, &c.* p. lxvi. and cf. *Hist. Num.* p. 331.

<sup>57</sup> See above p. 211.

<sup>58</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* p. xxix. Some of those weighed by Prof. Petrie from Naukratis scaled as

low as 136.8 grains (*Naukratis*, p. 75). For a criticism of some of Mr. Petrie's conclusions see Prof. Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency, and Weight Standards*, p. 241 note.



The conclusion to which we are led, that the Mykênæans possessed a weight standard the unit of which was a stater of 135 grains, is in fact strikingly corroborated by the deductions already drawn by Professor Ridgeway<sup>59</sup> from a study of the rings and spirals found by Dr. Schliemann in the shaft-graves of Mykênæ. From a comparison of the weights of these it appeared that they too were based on a gold stater of between 132 and 137 grains, approximately given by him as 135 grains, the exact weight independently arrived at from the still more striking evidence supplied by the Ægina rings. That this Mykênæan weight unit or talent, as we may perhaps call it, represents a parallel system to that of the light Assyrio-Babylonian shekel is highly probable. But the borrowing in this case at least seems to have been from Egypt.

Thus it appears that the metric system employed in Ægina at the date when this Treasure was deposited goes back to the palmiest days of Mykênæan civilization and in all probability to at least the sixteenth century before our era. The evidence before us shows that this system was maintained intact on Greek soil to the borders of the historic period, when it comes to light again in the standard weight of the Ionian Greeks and, finally, as the Euboic and Attic system regains its supremacy in the Greek world.

This metric evidence has also a distinct bearing on the date of the Ægina hoard. The Mykênæan standard seems to have been displaced by the Doric conqueror, and the early Æginetan coins, first struck in the seventh century B.C. under Pheidôn of Argos, conform to another standard, perhaps derived from a Phœnician source.<sup>60</sup> Hence it follows that the present gold hoard was deposited not only before the reign of Pheidôn but before the Dorian conquest of the island. This conclusion agrees with the non-Dorian character—if we may employ such a term—of the ornaments themselves, and if the approximate chronology given for the deposit is correct it would show that the conquest of Ægina by the Dorians of Epidauros took place some time after 800 B.C. The deposit of the Treasure itself may not improbably have been connected with that event.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

<sup>59</sup> *Hell. Journ.* x. (1889), p. 90 *seqq.* *Had the People of Prehistoric Mycenæ a Weight Standard?* Compare too his *Origin of Currency and*

*Weight Standards*, p. 37 *seqq.*

<sup>60</sup> See Head, *Hist. Num.* p. xxxviii.



## EXCAVATIONS ON THE PROBABLE SITES OF BASILIS AND BATHOS.

PAUSANIAS (viii. 29), on the way between Gortys and Megalopolis, after mentioning the ruins of Brenthe, from which the stream Brentheatis ran into the Alpheius, goes on to say: 'After crossing the Alpheius the country is that called Trapezuntian and there are ruins of the city of Trapezus. Then, turning down on the left to the Alpheius from Trapezus, close to the river is a place called Bathos, where they perform a rite to the Great Goddesses every third year. And there is a spring there called Olympias, which does not flow every other year, and near the spring fire comes up. Now the Arcadians say that the reputed battle of the Giants and Gods took place here and not in Thracian Pallene. . . . And from the place called Bathos the city called Basilis is distant about ten stades; its founder was Kypselos, who gave his daughter in marriage to Kresphontes, the son of Aristomachos. But in my time Basilis was in ruins, and among them were remains of a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. Going on from there you will again cross the Alpheius . . . ' Two other mentions are made of Basilis by ancient authors. Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v.*) refers to this account of Pausanias, and Nikander (*ap. Athen.* xii. 8), without giving any name, tells us that in a town founded by Kypselos on the Alpheius certain Parrhasii set up a shrine and altar to Demeter Eleusinia, and that there was a competition of beauty for women there, first won by Erodice, the wife of Kypselos, in which the competitors were called chrysophoroi.

Of these sites Brenthe is usually placed close to the modern Karytaina on the right bank of the Alpheius, Trapezus is placed on the northernmost of two parallel spurs which run down from Lycaon into the Megalopolitan plain on the site of the present village of Mavria, and Basilis on the other spur of Lycaon near the modern village of Kyparissia.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt as to the identity of the spring Olympias and the fire mentioned by Pausanias; about half a mile to the north of what seems to have been the acropolis of Basilis there is a most plentiful spring, which is probably the outcome from some *κατάβολος*, and is said to stop running one year in every nine, and near to it a considerable peat-field which has been on fire twice during the present century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Leake, *Morea*, ii. p. 28 and 292, 293; Bursian ii. p. 240; Curtius i. pp. 304 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Philippson, *Der Pelop.* p. 254; Bursian ii. p. 240.



It has been the generally received view of topographers that Bathos also lay close by this spring.

With a view to the investigation of the topography of the district, in the spring of the present year we made experimental diggings in two places, at the spot where the most northern of the two spurs is cut into by the Alpheius and a gorge of some depth has been formed, and at the threshing-floor of the village of Kyparissia close under the supposed acropolis of Basilis. The first of these spots now goes by the common name of *βαθύρευμα* and lies below the church of Hagios Georgios. Here a small strip of soil close to the river bank has long been a hunting-ground for the peasant in search of antiquities, and we soon came on a layer about one foot thick which proved to be very rich in remains.

The objects discovered consist mainly of terra-cottas, about seventy figures in all, of some of which the fabric, from the abundance of clay in the immediate neighbourhood, would seem to be local. A great many of the well-known types are represented among them. Of the earlier types, both standing and seated figures with bird-like heads were found, the bodies of the standing figures being made, in some cases, flat as a board, in other cases, completely round, with the feet just indicated below; while in the seated figures the body and the chair are made in one piece. In almost every case a band across the breast, and very often a necklace, is present; in one case additional ornament is given on the shoulders by rosettes. The figures generally bear a strong resemblance to those from Tegea in the Archaic Vase Room of the British Museum and those recently discovered by the American School<sup>3</sup> at Argos. Of the later types, which are hardly so numerous, we have the usual standing figures holding an object close to the breast, and a seated figure wearing the *πόλος*. Portions of a nude female figure of the Tanagra type, consisting of the head, lower part of the body, and legs were also found. This figure, which stands in a Praxitelean pose, is of good workmanship and finely modelled. It is noticeable that in every case the figures are female. Of the animals four are sows, one is probably a deer, and one a bird.


The bronze objects consist of a bull which is inscribed I E P, a pig, and the handle of a vessel ornamented with the forepart of a lion and ending in two Gorgon's masks. The latter is of good style and workmanship. Besides these, two bronze engraved rings, both skilfully worked, were found. On one of them a nude youth leans on a pillar, on the other a draped female figure bends forward. Some quantity of black-figured pottery of no merit was found, and several hundred small pots and lamps with every variety of shape.

From considerations of style the latest of the objects would seem to belong to the fourth century B.C.; others, such as the bird-headed figures, may be assigned to a much earlier date, unless they are only imitations of

<sup>3</sup> Vide Waldstein, *Excavations of American School at Heraion of Argos*, Pl. VIII., Nos. 4, 14, 15, 16.



early types. The site excavated appears to be that of a small shrine rather than that of a rubbish-heap, from the fact that a large proportion of the objects are in good condition and not in any way damaged. This theory is supported by the dedicatory inscription on the bull and by the discovery of so many small pots which are evidently offerings.<sup>4</sup> If it is a shrine, there seems little reason to doubt that this is the site of Bathos, where rites were celebrated in honour of the Great Goddesses. The character of the offerings indicates that some female deity or deities were honoured here, and the number of sows favours the view that these were the Great Goddesses, the identity of whom with Demeter and Kore was recognized by Pausanias (viii. 51. 1). We were unable to find traces of any temple, but this is no real objection, as no building is mentioned by Pausanias and there probably never was any. The name is satisfactorily accounted for by the river-gorge, and the distance from Basilis to this spot is much more like ten stades than the distance from Basilis to the spring, near which Bathos has hitherto been placed.

On the second of the sites which we tried, that is, the threshing-floor of the village of Cyparissia, excavation resulted in the discovery of some interesting pieces of stonework. It seems probable that we hit upon the road which led up to the acropolis of Basilis. On each side of the road there appear to have been placed bases, possibly for the support of statues. The best preserved of these consists of three slabs of whitish limestone.<sup>5</sup> These slabs, which present one continuous frontage, measure 1.50 m., 1.70 m., 1.50 m. respectively in length and 1.25 m. in height. On the side upon which they are finished, at nearly equal intervals, four flat pilasters project, one at the outside of each of the smaller slabs, and one at each end of the larger and central slab. They are all of the same width, that is, .30 m., and stand out very slightly from the face of the slab. These slabs were joined together on the top with  cramps. Along the whole length of the slabs runs a moulding of common form, and below it an elaborate variety of the key-pattern. Part of this pattern, which is very slightly cut into the stone, and part of the moulding above it are here reproduced from a drawing by Mr. Ernest Gardner.

The key-pattern calls for some discussion as it seems to be of an unusually complicated nature. At first sight it appears to resemble the pattern on the abacus of the columns of the smaller temple at Paestum,<sup>6</sup> and that above the frieze of the Theseion<sup>7</sup>; but, when it is compared with them, it will be seen that ours is in reality far more intricate. The long vertical strokes which appear on the former are absent in our pattern, where all the vertical strokes are short, making its design far more complicated. The accuracy with which it is cut in the stone

<sup>4</sup> Many similar pots may be turned up in the unexcavated soil at Eleusis in a few minutes with the hand.

<sup>5</sup> The stone is the same as that used in the

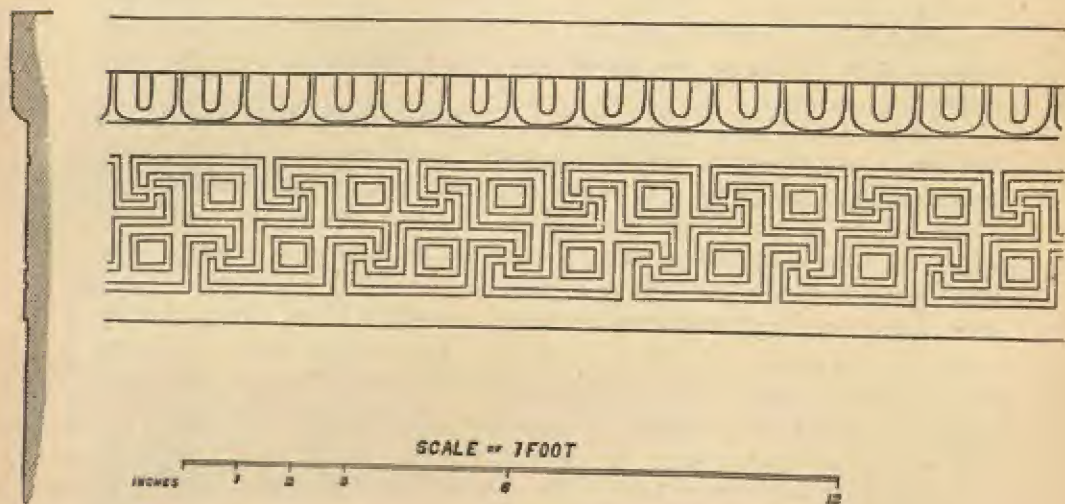
principal buildings of Megalopolis.



<sup>6</sup> Vide K. Bötticher, *Tektonik*, taf. iv. fig. 3.


<sup>7</sup> Vide Stuart and Revett, *Ant. of Athens*, iii. Pl. X.



makes it a marvel of careful work. There can be little doubt that the pattern and moulding were painted, as without the assistance of paint they would have been hardly visible. For what object these slabs were designed it is difficult to say. The only indication of super-structure is given by a cutting, apparently for a beam, in the top of the left-hand slab; there is no cutting in the corresponding slab on the right. It is probable from the character of the soil behind that the ground rose directly behind the slabs and served partly to support whatever was placed upon them. But it is difficult to assert this with certainty, as the original ground level has evidently been altered by earthquakes, which are very prevalent in the district. One other slab of the same description only much plainer in character, from



the position in which it was lying, evidently belongs to another basis facing the one described above. This slab has also on the top, a cutting for a  cramp. Other stones show the  form. Of the other pieces of stonework discovered little can be said with certainty, but nearly all show very careful work. A few of them are cut with a narrow draft at the edge as if for steps.

The  cramps and the character of the key-pattern and moulding would seem to point to an early date for these remains—probably not much later than the sixth century B.C.

At the same place a fluted bronze bowl, probably dating from the fifth century B.C., and some rough red-figured ware with hunting scenes were found. Unfortunately, owing to the absence of inscriptions, these remains shed no light upon the topography of the district, but their discovery favours the identification of the hill which rises above Kyparissia with the acropolis of Basilis.



Finally we may perhaps notice a curious fact with regard to the localization of the Gigantomachia in this plain. The prevalence of earthquakes, the mysterious spring and the burning earth might naturally give rise to such a story; but it is probable that it was confirmed by the finding of mammoth bones in considerable numbers in the district. It was possibly some of these that Pausanias saw in the temple of the young Asclepios at Megalopolis and ascribed to one of the Giants (viii. 32, 5). Many are still found by the peasants, and some of them are now preserved in the Museum at Dimitiana.

A. G. BATHER.

V. W. YORKE.



## THE BRONZE FRAGMENTS OF THE ACROPOLIS.

## II.—ORNAMENTED BANDS AND SMALL OBJECTS.

[PLATES VIII., IX.]

To any student of early Greek bronze ornament the works of Dr. Furtwaengler on the Olympian bronzes must be well known, and as he has dealt at length with the development of patterns on bronzes, and as every day fresh evidence seems to be coming up which serves to confirm his views, there is no necessity for me here to do anything more than recount shortly the general characteristics and nature of this class of bronzes from the Acropolis. These, like those of Olympia, may be divided into two main classes according as they belong to the geometric or the oriental style; while a cross distinction may also be drawn between engraved or stamped ornament and relief. Originally however these two distinctions seem to have been one and the same, the geometric corresponding to the engraved or stamped technique, and the oriental generally to the relief; but later we find each of these forms of ornament translated into the other technique. The original distinction however is due to two main causes, the quality of the bronze used in the two factories and the nature of the objects principally produced in them. The bronze of geometric ornament is much harder and more brittle than that of oriental, which is soft but very tough: to work geometric bronze into *repoussé* relief would be almost impossible, while the finer quality of the oriental is peculiarly suitable to such a technique. Thus it is often possible simply from the feel of a bronze fragment to decide which factory it came from.

Secondly, the objects to which the geometric patterns are applied generally require greater thickness and strength in the bronze. By far the greater number of the geometric fragments of both Olympia and Athens form parts of tripod rings or legs, and these had to be made strong enough to bear a considerable weight. Even in those tripod legs, however, which we find ornamented with oriental designs, we also find these designs worked out in *repoussé* relief aided by engraved lines.

It is however with the geometric ornament that we first have to deal, and the Athenian specimens differ in no essential features from those of Olympia. The patterns are of exactly the same character, a series of lines of



ornament divided by straight incised lines; the chief forms of patterns are the zigzag in two varieties, the broad and the narrow, the S or wave pattern and series of concentric circles with tangents joining them. In the earliest and more conventional specimens the central line in the pattern is usually occupied by the narrow zigzag generally doubled; but as the art gradually became more free from convention other designs often took place, fresh patterns were introduced, and the severely geometric arrangement was greatly modified. It is unnecessary here to enter into the complicated questions of the origin of this geometric work or its relation in point of date to the oriental style. The earliest specimens of this class of art are found at Mycenae and Tiryns (Schliem. *Myc.* p. 103, *Tiryns*, pp. 87 ff.; Loeschke and Furtw. *Myk. Vas.* taf. xxvii.); but it is a style which appears to have been long-lived, and certainly in its later days contemporary with the oriental work (v. Wolters, *Βοιωτικά Ἀρχαιοτήτες*, *Eph. Arch.* 1893). Also on the Acropolis in the layer which probably dates from the Persian war, at least ninety per cent. of the ornamented bronze bands belong to this style; and though of course many of the tripods and other objects to which these fragments belonged would have been already old at the time of the sack of the Acropolis, still such a large preponderance of this work forbids us to throw back very far the date of the style. The absence of inscriptions from these fragments is no proof of a very early date; for, leaving out of consideration the relative dates of the inscriptions and ornament on the Olympian fragments, it must be recognized that the first principle of this style is to fill with patterns the whole field, so that there is absolutely no room for inscriptions except on the back, and secondly that, as nearly all these fragments of bronze geometric work come from the legs or handles of tripods, it would not be natural to look for inscriptions on them, but rather on the rims of the quite plain tripod bowls. Now among the inscriptions from these Acropolis fragments already published there is one which probably comes from such a tripod bowl (No. 64). The fragments of the bowl show it to have been identical in shape with the tripods figured on Dipylon vases (e.g. *Mon.* ix. taf. 38): on either side of this rim are two holes for the fixing of the bands binding the handles; for their position on the inward curve of the bowl makes a flat horizontal handle impossible. Further, as the inscription shows,<sup>1</sup> the object inscribed probably was set up as a prize at funeral games, and for this purpose, as we know, tripods were very frequently used. The fact that none of these tripod fragments were noticed in the first sorting of the Acropolis bronzes sufficiently accounts for Dr. Furtwaengler's error in saying that none were found on the Acropolis (*Bronzefunde*, p. 18). Nor need we look for any directly religious significance in the presence of these objects. It was only in later days that they became peculiarly

<sup>1</sup> In publishing this inscription I conjectured that possibly it referred to funeral games, a view which is confirmed by two other somewhat similar inscriptions which had escaped my notice, one in fifth century Attic characters,

Ἀθηναῖοι δῶλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, and the other from Cumae in Chalcidian letters, ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀραμίστου τοῦ Φειδελίου δόλοις ἐθέσθην (Furt. *B.* v. O. p. 135; *Mon.* 1880, p. 344, Von Duhn).



associated with *μαντεία*: in earlier times the tripod seems to have had a value as currency, and it is only natural that the custom of offering them in shrines long survived their replacement by coinage.

The forms of the tripods found at Athens do not seem to differ in any essential points from those of Olympia. I have already mentioned the form with two handles so often represented on early vases (*e.g.* Baumeister, *Denk.* p. 464). A fragment of one of these handles is reproduced (Fig. 1), the

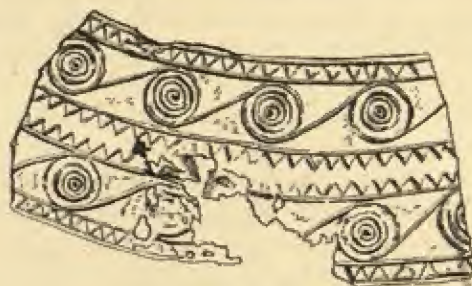


FIG. 1.

width of the original being 9.5 cm. The ornament is of the usual early type, the central motive being the double zig-zag. On the top of these handles usually stood a small horse or other animal, fixed on by means of nails running through the ring and the four feet of the animal (*v. Annali*, 1880, *tav. F*). Many of these horses are among the Acropolis fragments. These ring handles were then joined on to the lebes or tripod bowl by means of thinner bands of similar ornament. This technique is certainly as old as Homer, *Il.* xviii. 380, οἱ δ' ἤτοι τόσσον μὲν ἔχον τέλος· οὐατα δ' οὐπω | δαιδαλέα προσέκειτο· τὰ δ' ἤρτυε κόπτε δὲ δεσμούς. The legs of the Acropolis tripods are also of the usual type: at the top they curve out into shoulders below which the outline is straight, with a slightly diminishing breadth. In this straight piece the lines of pattern run downwards while on the shoulder they are horizontal, being only bordered on the side with one line of perpendicular ornament, either concentric circles and tangents or S pattern. From one of these fragments we can restore with certainty

FIG. 2.—(*c.*  $\frac{1}{3}$  size of the original.)

the original breadth of the leg as 22 cm., which if we suppose it to come from near the top gives an approximate height of 2.20 metres.

Two specimens of later geometric ornament, when the style is gradually



becoming emancipated from the purely rectilinear arrangement, will suffice to show the last developments of the style. The first of these (Fig. 2), of which two fragments are preserved, may best be compared with the free style of the Olympian designs, Nos. 596, 600, and 606. The arrangement in narrow parallel lines is discarded and three lines of concentric circles with tangents are united in a somewhat complicated design. The blank places in the field are filled in with smaller circles joined by tangents, these taking exactly the place occupied in certain vases of a similar stage of development and in Mycenae work by small spirals (*e.g.* the Hymettus Amphora, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, pl. 5 and p. 44, *Myc.* p. 91, No. 140, *Tiryns*, p. 408, No. 152, and the Melian vases, *Conze passim*). The preference for the circle rather than the spiral on bronze is due partly to the difficulty of working the latter, while for the former nothing but a hollow circular punch is required. That the two forms of pattern were interchangeable is shown also by such fragments as that of a terra-cotta vase in relief from Camirus (Salzmann, pl. 27, 1), where we have a thoroughly geometric pattern with spirals in the place of the circles and tangents. Another noticeable feature in our bronze fragment is the introduction of a tooth pattern *inside the main field*, to which it acts as a frame, just as in the Olympia example (No. 596).

The second example of the freer geometric style (Fig. 3) preserves little of the earlier character of the art. Of the five parallel bands in the



FIG. 3.—(c.  $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the original.)

design three are left unornamented. The upper of the two lines of ornament introduces a foreign pattern found, as Dr. Furtwängler has pointed out, in Egypt (*B. v. O.* p. 90). It is found also on three fragments at Olympia in conjunction with other patterns of a more pronounced geometric character (*Ol.* 620, cf. 619). The second ornament of our band is simply a line of squares every second of which is covered with small dots. The side of this fragment is turned back for a width of 1 cm. and in this part are nail holes showing it to have been nailed to a box or some other wooden object.

Along with these bands engraved with geometric designs are found on the Acropolis a large number of the small figures of animals, especially horses, of the geometric type, which were fixed on to the top of the tripod handles; just as at Olympia we can form an almost continuous series of these animals showing all the stages of development between the earliest nondescript quadruped and the conventional animal of the later Dipylon style. The height of these horses varies from .05 to .10 metre.

Of bronze bands ornamented with simple patterns of the oriental style there are but few examples found on the Acropolis. Most of these are



worked in *repoussé* relief, but there are one or two examples where the patterns are incised, and these present the closest analogies to the incised designs on early Corinthian vases. Since none of these however possess any peculiarities, which distinguish them in any essential points from similar designs found in other parts of Greece, and since one or two of them must be dealt with in the next section, they need not occupy our attention here.

The most numerous class of bronze objects found on the Acropolis and among the most elaborately ornamented are fragments of bowls of every shape. These, as the numerous inscriptions show, were very common dedicatory gifts to Athene. The ornamental parts of these vases consist of bands of moulding covered with elaborate designs running round the top of the vase and of most highly finished forms for the handles. In the first case the favourite patterns are a small herring-bone or 'tremolirstich,' lines of simple circular bosses, the simple egg pattern, the egg and dart and the spiral. These are often combined so as to give an appearance of great richness. The strongest parts however of these vases were naturally the handles and enormous numbers of these have been found. The commonest types are the following:—

(1) The ordinary oenochoe handle, generally ornamented with a snake crawling up it or with the forepart of a lion.

(2) The small situla handle ornamented generally with some geometric pattern (cf. *Ol.* No. 875).

(3) The handle called by the Greeks *καρώνη* or *χηνίσκος* (*Dodona*, i. p. 223). This is in the form of a hook rising straight up from the bowl, to the body of which it is generally attached by a palmette. The hook is in the shape of a swan's head. A fine example of this represents the swan as attacking a snake, which stands out from the handle just above the palmette (cf. *Ol.* 925).

(4) A small round handle, moving round in a cylindrical socket, which is attached to the side of the bowl by means of a lion's mask, Gorgon head or other similar shape. By far the commonest form is that with the lion's head. Of the type with a Gorgoneion, Fig. 4, is a good instance, the snaky curls of



FIG. 4.—(c.  $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the original.)

the hair and the fine details in all the parts illustrating well the care expended on this class of work in the sixth century B.C. Less conventional in design but equally careful in execution are the satyr-head and siren of



Figs. 5 and 6. The former is of a common early type (cf. *Dodona*, ix. 1); and a siren exactly like that of our figure was found at Kertch (*Compte Rend.* 1877, p. 221, Pl. III. 4).

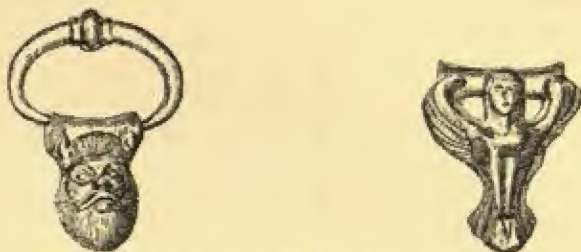


FIG. 5-6.—(c.  $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the originals.)

(5) The flat handle, which consists of a curved plate of bronze about  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch thick, of which the inner edge is turned back at right angles for about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch and either nailed or soldered to the rim of the bowl. The earlier examples of these are unornamented except by circles, triangles, and other geometric figures cut through *au jour* (e.g. *J.H.S.* xiii. 17 and 18). Later they were cut, still without details of engraving or relief, into the shapes of birds or animals. Thus we find one cut to represent a horse of very early type, while another (Fig. 7) presents us with the heads and necks



FIG. 7.—( $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the original.)

of two swans. Later again engraving was largely applied to these handles, which were cut into shapes of ornamental palmettes, lotus patterns and other graceful forms, details being added with a fine point engraving. Others represent animal forms, for example the horses of Fig. 8, which is a

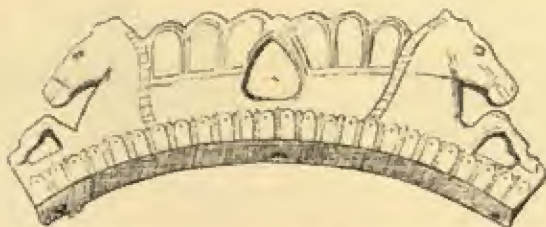


FIG. 8.—( $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the original.)



fine example of purely decorative work. Finally modelling in relief is used, and we find elaborate flower patterns, pegasi, &c. All these last have been soldered and not nailed to the vases. This form of handle though somewhat rare elsewhere is one of the commonest on the Acropolis, and may have been a speciality of Athenian bronze-workers.

(6) The last class of handles, and perhaps the most elaborate, which must be dealt with, we may call the semicircular. It is of the same shape as the ordinary modern handle, a curved bar fixed at the two ends to the sides of the bowl with two palmettes or other ornaments. The forms into which this bar is moulded are very various, two of the commonest being snakes and lions, the heads of the animals often projecting over the rim of the bowl. One of the most curious of these handles is that of Fig. 9, where

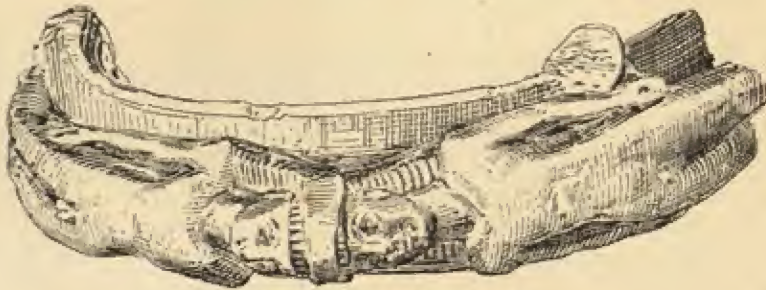


FIG. 9.—(Size of the original.)

we have two early male figures of an almost Egyptian character worked in relief. These are similar to the figures which were commonly used as mirror or fan handles, and it may have been by these that our artist was prompted to make this experiment. Both these figures and those of the fan handles are very similar in type to the early male Apollo statues. It would however be a mistake in these cases to look for any religious significance in the type. A similar handle is fixed to the side of a large bronze jug in the Naples Museum (No. 4731. Inv. 73144). The finest example of this class of handle from the Acropolis is that of Fig. 10, ornamented along the bar with lizards

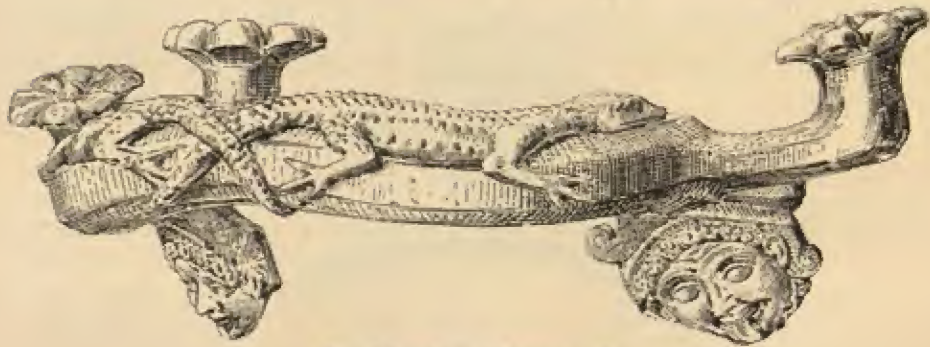


FIG. 10.—(Size of the original.)



and at the junction with the side of the bowl with gorgon heads, while over the rim and at the middle of the handle there are rosettes. This shows all the delicacy of detail and truth to nature which characterize the finest art of pre-Persian times.

Other objects, of which we have many specimens on the Acropolis, are the handles of fans and mirrors in the form of male and female figures, lions &c., but as these are some of the commonest objects found on Greek soil they call for no discussion here. The male figures differ in no respect from those found at Olympia: of the less ordinary types we may mention the lower part of a figure, nude except for a spotted loin-cloth, similar to those found at Olympia (No. 86) and Dodona (Carapanos Pl. XII. 1), and a second figure who carries two rams raised on his hands on each side of his head just as the Olympia figure No. 83. Almost peculiar to Athens are the small winged female figures probably used as supports for boxes. These are in the conventional flying and running attitude, the invention of which is ascribed to Mikkiades and Archemos in their winged Nike figure (Schol. Ar. Av. 573). The very large number of these figures found on the Acropolis and their rarity at other sites may point either to a religious significance of the figure in connection with Athene or to a speciality of Athenian workshops. Certainly they preserve many of the supposed characteristics of early Attic art.

Among our fragments are many small figures which decorated the tops of mirrors or the rims of vases (cf. Hdt. I. 70, Hom. *Il.* xi. 632). Generally these are figures of lions or horses varying in style from the geometric, like those of the tripod rings, to the more naturalistic later forms. In one case we have a small running lion of exactly the type found on Phalerum vases (v. *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 35). Another lion of later style (Fig. 11) is from a



FIG. 11.—(Size of the original.)

vase rim, as is shown by the curved sinking on the under side. The beast is represented as lying down with the mouth wide open. The fine dotting representing the soft hair over the eyes is noticeable, occurring as it does on many vases and also on a bronze engraving to be dealt with in the next section. Remarkable also is the collar, which makes it possible that this may represent the beast as sacred, perhaps to Cybele, Artemis or Dionysus. It may however be a purely decorative addition. In either case it makes it possible that the animals on a Phalerum vase in the British Museum, which wear collars and are therefore called dogs (Böhlau, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 48), may after all be lions, which they much more closely resemble. The satyr of Fig. 12 also comes apparently from a vase rim. He is represented as



at a banquet, lying on a leopard skin, one side of which is drawn up over his right leg: his left arm rests on a cushion and in his hand he holds a drinking-cup, the hair hangs straight down behind. What the object appearing from behind his left shoulder is, in the present bad condition of the bronze it is impossible to say. In the Bronze department of the Cabinet des Médailles (No. 163) is a very similar figure,<sup>2</sup> the



FIG. 12.—(Size of the original.)

provenience of which is unknown; in this part of the leopard's skin is brought up over the left arm, while another difference is that the Paris satyr has hoofs for feet. The surface of the Acropolis bronze is very badly corroded, but we can still see the extreme care and exactitude with which the muscles are worked out, a feature which is still more remarkable in the Paris specimen. This hard dry exactitude together with the shape of the head and the cut of the beard and moustache reminds us of the characteristics of the early Aeginetan school of artists. Aegina was a well-known centre of the early bronze industry (Plin. *N.H.* xxxiv. § 10), and we have at least one head on the Acropolis, which with some probability has been ascribed to this school (*Musées d'Athènes*, Pl. 13).

Besides these figures of men and animals, which were used as ornaments to larger objects, there are on the Acropolis many small dedicatory offerings of bronze animals and birds, and human figures. These are of almost every known style of early Greek art: one seated figure is undoubtedly Egyptian and wears the Egyptian uraeus; other human figures present us with bird-like featureless faces resembling those of the conventional early terracottas: along with these we find geometric horses and other animals which gradually become more and more natural. Of quite a different type is the forepart of a bull (Fig. 13), which belongs to a finished but thoroughly conventional and decorative art. It is only recognizable as a bull from the horns, which are broken near the head. Two very similar animals in point of style are a stag and lion found at Olympia (Nos. 647, 648), which, as Furtwaengler points out, betray a connection with the geometric school.

<sup>2</sup> The type is a very common one in ancient art especially in terra-cottas, cf. *Ol.* iv. Tav. vii. 76 (also from a vase rim) viii. 77, Friedrich *Kl. Kunst*, 602, Friedrichs-Wolters, No. 378.

Also Olympia, iv. p. 24 where Furtwaengler gives other instances and conjectures that the type may be Chalcidian.



There seems to be no attempt at modelling or naturalism, the different muscles and other parts of the body being developed into engraved patterns: the shoulder-blades of all three instances are represented by the same design, a method which we also find employed on some vases of the oriental schools



FIG. 13.—(c.  $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the original.)

(e.g. *Naucratis*, vol. ii. Pl. x.). The holes for the eyes of this bull are abnormally large and were probably filled in with stones or paste. These conventional and decorative animals almost seem to be taken from some oriental carpet work and transferred to the round. In any case we may undoubtedly recognize in them oriental types. Something of the same style belongs also to two figures of cocks among our fragments, one of which is here reproduced (Fig. 14). The figure is cut out of a sheet

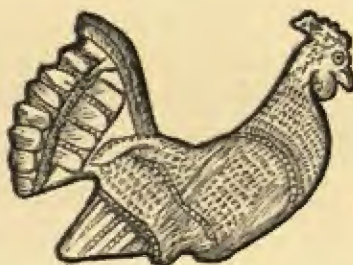


FIG. 14.

of bronze about  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of an inch thick and engraving is added on one side for the details. The whole effect, though extremely ornamental, can scarcely be said to be true to nature: the tail feathers and the ends of the wings are rendered in exactly the same way as the shoulder-blade of the bull, and the lines differentiating the various parts of the bird are those of convention rather than nature. A comparison between this cock and the flat handle in the shape of the foreparts of horses (Fig. 8) shows us that they are products of the same school: we have the same cutting out of the bronze in silhouette and use of the same patterns, and both are similarly engraved with a very fine point. This method of cutting the shape of a figure out of a thick sheet of bronze is strikingly common in the Acropolis and, as suggested above, may belong to a peculiarly Attic technique. The cock's head from Olympia (No. 725), though differing entirely in details from our bird, still presents the characteristics of the same



decorative school. Others of the more common dedicatory animals found on the Acropolis are sheep, owls, crows, horses and snakes; the number and variety of these last is especially great. Of these the owls and the snakes were doubtless offered, as having a peculiar connection with the goddess; but it is not so certain that all these animals had any religious significance. Thus a bronze sheep or bull might be dedicated by a prosperous shepherd or cow-owner, without any thought of the bull sacrifice of the Diipolia or the sheep of the Panathenaic festival, just as under certain limitations a man might put up and dedicate a statue of himself or other members of his family. Still it is hard to recognize any other but religious motives for the choice of the cock and the crow: and both these birds are in point of fact connected with Athene. The cock regularly appears on a column on Panathenaic amphorae, and appears on the helmet of the goddess at Elis, the explanations offered by Pausanias being, either that it was the readiest of all birds to fight or that it might be considered sacred to Athene Ergane (vi. 26, 3). The crow has a connection with religion in the myth of its banishment from the Acropolis after the sin of the daughters of Cecrops; this bird also was perched on the hand of the bronze statue of Athene at Korone (Paus. iv. 34, 6), and appears on the altar in front of the goddess on an early Attic vase in the British Museum (*J.H.S.*, Vol. I., Pl. VII.). To both of these forms of offering therefore we may ascribe a religious significance.

Any description or catalogue of all the innumerable bronze objects of every description which were among the fragments which I sorted would be far beyond the scope of this paper. There were many fragments of statues and statuettes of every size, several hundred legs of vases in the shape of lions' or horses' legs, fragments of armour of every sort, helmets, breast-plates, greaves, spears, swords, and arrow-heads, very many fragments



FIG. 15.—(c.  $\frac{1}{4}$  size of the original.)

of ornamental bronze shields with the *τρίπλαξ ἄντυξ* or treble plait-band running round the edge, personal ornaments of various kinds, such as small thin pieces of bronze which were covered with gold and sewn to the dress and thin bronze wheels which were also sewn to the dress.<sup>3</sup> All these are

<sup>3</sup> There is, however, a marked absence of fibulae from among these fragments, which is sufficiently accounted for by the story of Hero-

dotus as to why the Athenians gave up wearing these (v. 87).



finds common to every site which is rich in bronzes: those of the Acropolis have no special peculiarities, and the main types have been sufficiently described both in connection with the Olympia and Dodona bronzes and elsewhere. Two of these objects however deserve special attention here. The first of these (Fig. 15) is a hanging ornament of a type already found at Olympia (Nos. 412—415). It consists of a circular cage sloping in at top and bottom, while on the top is a bird of the earliest geometric type. A hole runs through the bronze in the place of the bird's eyes, through which was passed the string by which it was suspended. The total height of this specimen is .082 m. The second fragment which deserves mention is the front hair forming part of some life-size statue (Fig. 16), the technique of



FIG. 16.—(c.  $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the original.)

which is most remarkable, and points to a very early date. The hair is represented by thin strips of bronze about  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. broad, which are twisted up into innumerable spiral curls. All these are nailed from the under side to a thin bronze plate curved to fit over the forehead of the statue. This must take us back to the very earliest times of the statuary art, the work being *σφυρήλατον* in the fullest sense of the term. It would be interesting could we find out the material of the statue to which this hair belonged. Made separately as it is, it seems possible that it was applied to wood, stone, or marble, and it would so add a more life-like touch to the work. But as so



many of the earlier statues had various parts made separately, it is not possible to form any conclusion from the fact in the present instance.<sup>4</sup>

### III.—SUBJECT RELIEFS AND ENGRAVINGS.

BEFORE we come to discuss the bronze reliefs found among our fragments, there are two pieces of engraved work which must occupy our attention. In the previous section I have pointed out that the art of engraving bronze is indigenous in Greece and belongs to the geometric school, while *repoussé* relief is a foreign technique coming in from the Orient and bringing along with it oriental patterns and compositions. When however these two forms of art were established side by side on Greek soil, each naturally affected the other. Not only do the geometric patterns, as we have seen, gain greater variety and freedom from conventionality from contact with the oriental, while the oriental devices are modified and improved by a linear arrangement borrowed from the geometric; but also on the one hand we find fantastic eastern subjects appearing on geometric bronze worked with the old technique, and on the other geometric patterns and designs appearing in *repoussé* relief on the thinner oriental bronze. A good instance of the first of these peculiarities is the engraving of Fig. 17. This is the larger and also the earlier in point of style, and is engraved on a stout strip of bronze measuring 6 in. across the top, and narrowing in towards the bottom. The bronze, though I have not been able to have any of it analysed,<sup>5</sup> has precisely the same feel and appearance as that of the early geometric specimens, and is of the same dark brown colour. It is divided vertically into three chief fields by narrow bands of geometric ornament, while it is framed in at the sides by a simple S pattern. The top field is occupied by two large rosettes of the very simplest character; below this runs a band of concentric circles and tangents. In the middle field appears a leopard in the conventional early attitude; below, separated from it by a simple zigzag, a boar, and below this again at the bottom of all the tooth-pattern which we have already seen appearing on the later geometric ornament. The style of this engraving finds its closest parallel on a vase from Thebes (Böhlau, *Jahr.* ii. Taf. 4 and Brunn *Kunstgeschichte* (1893) pp. 132—3 Fig. 102—103). In this

<sup>4</sup> It is remarkable that we have thin strips of bronze and not bronze wire, as in the ends of the Naples bronze (Mon. ix. Tav. 18). Of the wire treatment specimens were found, but I must believe that this work is of an earlier date than the wire; which fact may again have an important bearing on the history of early bronze work with regard to the relation between the thin sheet bronze work and the round earlier work. Being, as pointed out above, thoroughly *σφυρήλατος* in technique, this work in thin strips would appear older than the soldered

wire work: but of course it is not necessarily older than the invention of the soldering of iron by Glaucus (*Ol.* 22, according to Eusebius, *Paus.* x. 16. 1, *Plut. def. or.* 47). A similar technique may have been that of the gold colossal Zeus at Olympia, v. *Suidas* *sv.* Κρυφαί-δων ἀνδρόμα.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Heycock of King's College, Cambridge, has kindly promised to analyse certain fragments of the various sorts of bronze. But his results, I fear, will not be ready in time to appear in this paper.





FIG. 17.



vase we find the same simple rosettes, the same unnatural feet, in this case of lions, the same indication of the soft skin round the mouth by dots, and, generally speaking, the same combination, though in a much more developed form, of geometric and oriental elements. Our bronze might almost be a first attempt on the part of a geometric artist to vary from the conventions of his art: the leopard has still many of the characteristics of the true Dipylon animal, the thin body, the long legs, the triangular extremity of the tail all characterize it, while the length of limb in the boar makes it almost impossible to recognize as such were it not for the naïve observance of nature in the tail. Further it is easy to discover in the leopard's spots the stamp from the hollow circular punch of the geometric work. The influence which is called oriental and which introduces these figures may come through Corinth, but more probably from the islands, and Rhodes in particular (v. Böhlau *l.c.*), and it is remarkable that close parallels for our animals here represented are to be found not only in the Olympia bronzes, where leopards and boars are represented together, but also in the early Eastern school of pottery, e.g. *Naukratis*, ii. Pl. VIII. (E. A. Gardner).<sup>6</sup> Exactly the same stage in the history of bronze-work is represented by the Dodona centaur (Carapanos, Pl. XIX.). Here we get an archaic centaur surrounded by purely geometrical patterns, and spotted to represent the hair just as is the case with our leopard's mouth.

The use of this bronze fragment cannot be certainly determined: it may have been fixed on to the top of a tripod leg of the ordinary geometric type and the nail-holes in the nose and tail of the leopard are of the size

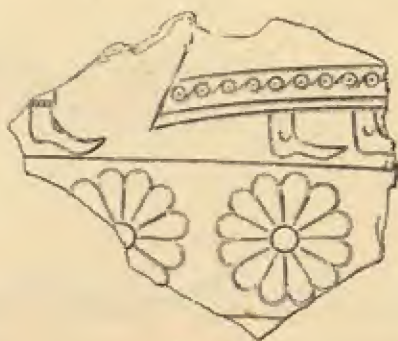


FIG. 18.

usual in the fixing of two bronze sheets together. But it has none of the curve usual in the upper parts of these legs, and may simply come from a vase-stand or *ἐργυθήκη* (v. Curt. *Arch. Bronzerelief aus Ol.* p. 24, *Pol. ap. Ath.* § 210).

Our second fragment (Fig. 18) represents a much further advanced stage in the art. Above a horizontal band of rosettes appear the lower parts of

<sup>6</sup> The combination of such animals is very frequent on early works of art, e.g. Hom. *Od.* xi. 609, Hes. *Scut. Her.* 168.



two figures. Here traces of the geometric system are only to be found in the arrangement of the lines of design and in the pattern on the tunic of the leading figure. It may indeed be questioned whether this fragment does not belong to an entirely distinct style which only knows geometric ornament in the art of weaving. The shape of the χιτῶν of the first and perhaps also of the second figure is identical with those of the Olympia cuirass, and a fragment of Argo-Corinthian bronze from the Ptoon (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1822, Pl. xv. 1). The form of the shoes, which was once erroneously called Hittite, is the most common one in early Greek art, being worn by the rider statues on the Acropolis and at least one of the early female statues there (cf. also Figs. 26 and 30 and *Olympia*, iv. t. lix.). Now in this Olympia cuirass (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883, pl. 1—3, *Ol.* iv. t. lix.) we notice exactly the same characteristics in point of style as well as in other details. Here too we have clearly a combination of the geometric and oriental, and also, just as in our fragment, the geometric appears principally in the dresses of the figures, though it is also to be recognized in the S pattern running beneath the feet, just as the broad zigzag appears on t. lviii. All these facts seem to point to the same conclusion, that these works date from a time when the two styles were uniting into one. They might have been the work either of a geometric school freed at length entirely from the trammels of convention and now really a master of composition in the new art, or they might be that of an artist trained in the oriental school who has learned the beauty of that regularity which is the great contribution of the geometric school to Greek art.

It may seem curious that on the Acropolis no specimens have been found of that purely geometric fine engraving which we see on so many headbands and fibulae found in other parts of Greece and Italy. The story of Herodotus (v. 87) fully explains the absence of the latter: though in point of fact the bronze of these ornaments is very different from that of the ordinary geometric work, while the engraving has quite a distinct character. There is no doubt that the two styles though belonging to the same great class in Greek art had different homes, though the present scarcity of data on the subject prevents our determining with any certainty what these were.

The origin of Greek bronze relief is a question too large to be fully discussed here. It certainly would seem however that it is an art not indigenous to Greek soil, and we may regard the so-called 'Phoenician' phialae and other specimens of bronze reliefs as relics of the art which preceded and perhaps originated that of Greece. A piece of one of these phialae is among the fragments of the Acropolis (Fig. 19).

A more proper name for these is doubtless Cypriote, as they would seem to have been the product of a Cypriote factory ruled perhaps by the Phoenicians. The motives and scenes represented are certainly derived from the Phoenician, but the arrangement betrays Greek workmanship and, as Brunn has pointed out, shows distinctly the influence of the geometric school. Cyprus indeed occupied early a very important place in the development of



the bronze industry. Pliny tells us that it was in Cyprus that bronze was first discovered (xxxiv. § 2), where it was produced from an ore called chalcites. In Homer the armour of Agamemnon is a gift from Cinyras, king of Cyprus (*Il.* xi. 19). On the Acropolis besides the phiale before us we have seen an inscription written on in Cypriote characters (*J.H.S.* 1893, p. 129, Pl. VII. 65), and there is reason to believe that Cyprus in early days plied a very large trade in this early bronze relief work. Our fragment here represented belongs to the second category of these vases as distinguished by Perrot and Chipiez (*Phénicie et Chypre*, p. 757), being ornamented with 'formes vides,' i.e. forms taken from Egyptian and Assyrian hieratic representations and combined without any respect to their meaning, being



FIG. 19.—(Size of the original.)

used purely to make up a decorative design. Starting from the right on our plate we find in the first place, two sphinxes confronting one another on either side of a sacred tree: each of the sphinxes is crowned with the sacred disk and uraeus of Egypt, while the tree with its palmette decoration is essentially eastern in character. Next we find the sacred hawk of Horus seated on a lotus and finally apparently one end of a similar sphinx and sacred tree design. This same design occurs in almost identical form on another phiale of the same character (*P. et C.* p. 775), while the border pattern is a very common one in this class of work (e.g. *P. et C.* p. 783). The technique of these phialae is a combination of *repoussé* relief and engraving: first the figure is blocked out with the hammer and then details are added with the fine graver's tool. Unfortunately much of the lighter graving work has worn off this fragment. This is one of very few Phoenician cups found in Greece Proper, though some of much the same style were discovered at Olympia (*Ol.* iv. Taf. lii.): it may point to an early direct connection between Athens and Cyprus.

The first class of purely Greek bronze relief work with which I wish to deal is that called the Argo-Corinthian. Examples of this work have been found at Olympia, Dodona, the Ptoon and the Acropolis (*Ol.* iv. Taf. 39,



Carapanos, *Dodona*, Pl. XVI., *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892).<sup>7</sup> The Acropolis fragments are being published by Dr. Wolters. In the, so to speak, orthodox forms of the art the relief represents some mythical scene, often drawn from the Epic Cycle, in a small field framed in at the sides by the 'Flechtband,' and at the top and bottom by a small metope and triglyph band. The scenes are arranged generally vertically one above the other, and at the top of all we find a palmette. Often eastern or heraldic scenes take the place of the mythical, *e.g.* two lions facing each other or a running winged figure. The main grounds for the attribution of these bronzes to an Argo-Corinthian origin though most of them are well known may be here recapitulated:—

(1) The appearance of an Argive inscription on one of the Olympia fragments (*Ol.* iv. Taf. 39, 699a).

(2) The occurrence of similar or identical scenes on Corinthian mirror handles, as for instance that of the death of Hector and intercession for the corpse by Priam (*Furtw. Festgabe an E. Curtius*, p. 179, Brunn (1893) p. 124).

(3) The appearance of the 'Flechtband,' which in its triple form constituted, as is conjectured by Furtwaengler, the *τρίπλαξ ἄντυξ* of the Homeric shield, the invention of bronze shields being attributed to Argos.<sup>8</sup> (*Furtw. B.F. aus Ol.* p. 80, 93).

(4) The proportions of the figures represented on these bronzes which are of a distinctly Peloponnesian type (cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1892, pp. 355 f.).

(5) We may mention the similarity of these bronzes to works of another technique, namely certain stamped terra-cotta reliefs which have been found in the neighbourhood of Argos. One of these, to which we shall have to refer again, was found at Mycenae and represents a female figure holding a bird in either hand, and is one of the earliest specimens of that well-known type (Lenormant, *Arch. Zeit.* 1856). The field round is ornamented with rosettes and stamped circles. Latterly, I may add, some other specimens of the same technique have been found by Dr. Waldstein in the excavations of the American school at the Heraeum. They present a much more developed character and resemble much more closely the bronzes under discussion.

These bronzes, however, are not the only productions of the Argo-Corinthian school. They represent a well developed and almost thoroughly Greek stage in the art. As Brunn says of the Olympia fragments, 'nur das gedrehte Band und etwa das Schematische der laufenden Gestalt und ihrer Beflügelung mahnen noch an fremde Vorbilder' (*Griech. Kunstgeschichte*, p. 124). It is more probable that they represent the work of one particular

<sup>7</sup> During last summer M. De Ridder, a member of the French school, has found a large number of similar reliefs, of an extremely interesting character at Orchomenos, which he will shortly publish in the *Bulletin Corr. Hell.*

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<sup>8</sup> Instances of this pattern are found on nearly all Greek sites rich in bronze remains: Dodona, Olympia, the Ptoon, Eleutherae, Mantinea, and the Acropolis.



factory, and we are enabled in the light of recent discoveries both to trace the development of this particular form of the art and to compare it with other works of the same general school.

One of the most fruitful places in this bronze work is an early cemetery not far from Eleutherae and near the direct road from Athens to Thebes. Objects from these tombs have been published by Drs. Furtwaengler and Wolters (*Annali*, 1880, pp. 118-135, *Eph. Arch.*, 1893, pp. 213-240). The question arises as to whether we are justified in attributing all the bronzes worked in relief to this factory or whether we must suppose them to be of a Chalcidian or Boeotian origin. Boeotia is singularly rich in these fragments found at this cemetery and at the Ptoon. Further, the invention of bronze shields is attributed to Thebes as well as to Argos; but found as this relief work is side by side with objects undoubtedly of Argo-Corinthian provenience, and also side by side with engraved work of the geometric type (v. Wolters, *loc.*), it certainly seems most probable that the reliefs must be attributed to Corinth and the engraving perhaps to Boeotia.

Now it seems to me clearly impossible to dissociate fragments such as those ornamented with friezes of animals (e.g. *Eph. Arch.* 1893, Pl. 10 and 12, *Annali*, tav. H. 2, S 1, Curt. *A. B. aus Ol.* Pl. III. *Ol.* iv. Taf. 52, 884), altogether from such shields as those found at Caere (Brunn, p. 95) and in many other Italian cemeteries, several of which are in the Museo Papajuliano at Rome. Here we have exactly similar friezes of animals and also a similar 'Flechtband.' Whether they are to be classed as works from the same factory or not, they are certainly derived from the same types, and these types are as certainly eastern though modified by the arrangement and order of Greek geometric work. The technique is generally very simple, the chief tool used being the solid circular punch, which was of various sizes; it is the earliest technique possible in *repoussé* work and we shall find it surviving in the thoroughly Greek work of a later style. It seems to follow then that at an early date there was a large traffic in bronze work of this character, emanating from the East, perhaps through Cyprus, which spread over nearly all the coasts of the Mediterranean; and it is from these beginnings that later Greek relief work developed.

Owing to the kindness of Dr. Coumanoudes, director of the Polytechnic Museum at Athens, and of the British Museum authorities, I am enabled to publish several more of these fragments from the Eleutherae tombs; and, as they seem to me to illustrate very fully the development of this early style of *repoussé* relief work, I have thought it best to introduce them here rather than in a separate paper. The first of these fragments (Fig. 20) represents the very earliest stage in the art; it is from a very thin band of dark bronze about 1·2 inch in breadth. The pattern is that of a simple zigzag on either side of a central band; the lines being represented by two parallel lines of dots in relief formed by some sharp point. Here we notice at the first glance the application of a strange technique to a geometric design; but both are of the simplest and most infantile character. The dots are irregular in shape and position and are as yet without the bounding lines on either side of them,



which, as we shall see, were a later and very necessary addition. A similar example of such a working out of a geometric design is that found at Olympia (*Ol.* iv. No. 326). The same system seems also to have been applied to the fine geometric work, which we have attributed to Boeotia, in the case of a Ptoon fragment published by M. Holleaux (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1892, Pl. xiv. 3), which stamps itself at once as of a different class to the ordinary Corinthian reliefs and much nearer akin to the geometric engraved diadems such as one from Thebes (*Annali*, 1880, tav. G. Brunn, p. 120). This same defect is noticeable in our second fragment in the Polytechnic Museum at Athens



FIG. 20.—( $\frac{1}{3}$  size of the original.)

(Pl. IX.), though this as a work of art is far in advance of the last. Here the lines of dots simply act as bounding lines and the advancing bull in the field shows all the life and naturalism of early Greek art; the folds of skin on the neck, the shaggy hair of the breast, the representation of the shoulder-muscles and the curly end of the tail visible on the right betray the close observance of nature and the freedom and boldness in its portrayal which is only to be found in true Greek work. It belongs exactly to the same art and to the same stage in that art as several other fragments from the same site published by Dr. Furtwaengler (*A.d.I.*, 1880, tav. H. 3, S. 1, 2), the first of which, the well-known scene of the boar-shooting, as Brunn says, (*op. cit.* p. 121), points clearly to the individuality and independence of the spirit of Greek art. Perhaps the most curious, however, of all the Eleutheræe bronzes are two fragments of a stephane (Fig. 21), almost exactly 1 inch broad, on



FIG. 21.—( $\frac{1}{3}$  size of original.)

which are preserved four heads of a very early type. The faces with the long straight noses, thick lips, and hanging protruding chins are of a type well known in early Corinthian pottery. The eyes, as usual, are set obliquely in the form of a long narrow slit with a central dot. The long folds of the hair are similar to those of the man shooting at the boar referred to above. Vases ornamented with somewhat similar heads are known as coming from Corinthian factories. A good instance is a plate of the Blacas collection in the



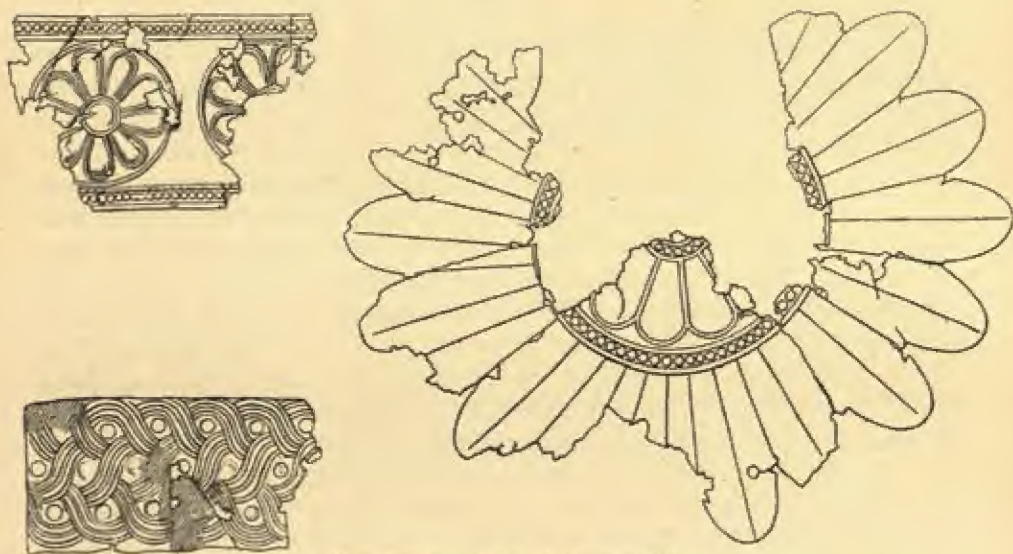
British Museum (A. 263) found at Nola, which is ornamented with four heads. These have much the same cast of features as those on our bronze, and the hair falls behind in similar broad folds. Most peculiar however is the head-dress ornamented with basket-work with a line of dots round the bottom. The form of dress is common in the case of the well-known Boeotian 'pappades,' terra-cotta figures found in various parts of Boeotia and especially at Tanagra (*v. Böhlau, Jahrbuch*, 1888, p. 343). It is possible in this case that the head-dress was actually made of basket-work, though it is also possible that it is merely a conventional ornament. A somewhat similar headdress is that of a Siren from a Lekane in the British Museum (Walters, *Vases in B. M.* ii. B 14; Conze, *Mel. Thon.* Pl. V. 4) which is ornamented in the same pattern with incised lines. For just as in early pottery, notably of the Mycenae and Melian types, where in the first case this basket pattern forms the main device, and in the second the divisions between the main fields (*e.g.* Conze, *Mel. Thongefässe*, taf. iii.), so too in early metal work we find the same pattern constantly used either as a principal motive in the decoration, as in certain early phialae (*e.g.* *Ol.* iv. No. 880), or again as bands dividing the chief designs. This motive may almost be reckoned as one of the chief characteristics of early Corinthian gold relief work, being indeed the pattern most frequently used in framing in the principal metope-like scenes, and so perhaps corresponding to the 'Flechtband' or 'triglyph motive' of the 'Argo-Corinthian' bronzes. This is to be seen very clearly in the examples of this work published by Furtwaengler (*Arch. Zeit.* 1884, tav. 8), and better still in another gold band also found at Corinth and now in the Louvre, which was seen at Athens by Furtwaengler in 1882<sup>9</sup> (*Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 109). This relief bears the closest relationship to the school of Argo-Corinthian bronzes which we are discussing: it is approximately 6 inches long and 2½ broad, and is divided horizontally into five scenes. Each scene is framed at the top and sides by this basket pattern, while along the bottom runs a line of simple bosses. The central field is occupied by a rosette of the same pattern as the Eleutheræe rosettes of Fig. 22: on either side in the two next fields is a single female figure with a headdress of a shape similar to that under discussion, only without any ornament. In each of the two outer fields are represented three warriors advancing with shields ornamented with a star pattern similar to that of Athene in the Eleutheræe relief (Pl. IX.), which must be discussed later. The closest parallel, however, which I know for the headdress on our relief, is that of a female figure holding two birds on a Corinthian alabastron in the Museum at Naples (No. 133, Inv. 2496). In the head of this figure the same peculiarities are noticeable to a certain extent as in the heads of our bronzes: we find the same protruding features, while the hair falls behind in much the same folds. The headdress, though not ornamented with basket

<sup>9</sup> Another instance of this use of the basket pattern is to be found in a small gold fragment from Camirus now in the British Museum,

where it is used to frame in an archaic representation of a griffin.



pattern, has just the same shape, and round the top and bottom run bands of dots, representing no doubt rosettes. The technique of this relief shows a very early stage of art: the dot-band below the headdress, the eyes, and possibly the lips, are all worked with the same circular punch, though for the eyes at any rate its size is obviously unsuitable; while the squareness of the ears betrays the inability of the artist to work a circular line in this material. The subject, though worked out with some spirit, is obviously too complicated for the technique of the artist, and shows itself to be an early attempt to go beyond the bounds of purely decorative patterns, such as those of Figs. 22-24, which, though apparently much more finished works of art, are not necessarily any later in point of date, and might indeed be productions from



FIGS. 22-24.—( $\frac{1}{4}$  size of the originals.)

the same factory. For the regularity and truth of line in these examples are only those born of a practice in conventional pattern design. The rosette band (Fig. 22) is the exact counterpart of very many specimens coming from the same site and others in Boeotia, while the large rosette (Fig. 23) is of a fine bold design, the outer petals being cut out of a very thin sheet of bronze with no relief work at all, but only an indented line down the centre of each leaf: the inner part of the rosette, in its main outlines, is practically identical with those of the previous fragment. The diameter of the whole is just  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches: it was doubtless intended for a dress ornament of some kind. Another interesting point with regard to this rosette is the nature of the bronze of which it is made. As we shall notice in the case of other specimens coming probably from the Corinthian factory, the composition is of a bright gold colour, and preserves its toughness and flexibility to an extraordinary extent, though it seems generally to have been used only in sheets no thicker than paper. Without a careful analysis it is



impossible to be certain whether gold was really added in the composition or not; but it certainly seems to have been a precious material, used sparingly and reserved for the finer relief work. Moreover we are told by Pliny (xxxiv. § 5) that it was at Corinth that gold was first mixed with the bronze, though his story of its invention, attributing to it a very late date, has a distinct savour of aetiology. Another fragment from Eleutherae in the British Museum is that of Fig. 24. It is a fragment in no way remarkable except in adding a fresh link to the chain of connection between Boeotia and the Argo-Corinthian factory. It is a simple and uncomplicated example of the *τρίπλαξ ἀντιξ*, which, as we have already seen, is probably to be attributed to an Argive origin.

The last of the Eleutherae bronzes with which I wish to deal, and which is represented to full scale (Pl. IX. 2), belongs more obviously to the Argo-Corinthian school, and is in the Polytechnic Museum at Athens (inv. No. 1312). In its present condition it consists of three fragments of a thin bronze sheet which probably overlaid some box or other wooden object. Parts of three scenes are preserved arranged horizontally, divided from each other by a simple egg-pattern. Above and below run two lines of dots, between which is a blank space, and doubtless both above and below were other bands of relief. Beginning on the left we have in the first scene two female figures advancing to the left: in front of the first one hang down the two tasselled ends of a taenia which she holds in her right hand, while her left hangs down by her side: behind her the second holds in her right hand a wreath and in the left an olive branch. This is probably the end of a sacrificial procession, perhaps to Athene. The central scene presents us with, as far as I know, a totally new mythological scene: on the left stands a female holding a child in her arms: in front of her advances Heracles, his head covered with the lion's mask and with his club in his right hand and his bow in his left in an attitude of obvious hostility towards Athene, who is rushing forward from the right armed with shield and spear and wearing a Corinthian helmet. There seems to be only one episode in the mythical life of Heracles to which we can attribute this scene, namely the rape of Auge, and yet even in this case we can find no account of any such scene as that represented here. According to the general account Heracles departed on his way after the rape; there is, however, a story preserved in works of art of the finding of Telephus on Mount Parthenios by Heracles (Jahn, *Tel. und Tro.*, pp. 57 ff.), and it is possible to suppose that this group gives us a representation of some scene which took place then. It seems, however, better to recognize in the woman behind Heracles Auge herself and attribute the scene to the time of the wrath of Athene after the birth of the child. According to the form of the myth adopted by Euripides, Auge brought the child to birth in the temple (Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 1112), and an angry scene there took place between the mother and the goddess (Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. p. 302). Heracles is named as the evildoer, and it is probable that in some form of the myth Heracles was introduced to account for his action and defend Auge. A complete discussion of the mythology of



the scene is here impossible, but a full account of the various forms of the story and their representations in art is given by Jahn (*Telephus und Troilus*, pp. 42 ff.).<sup>10</sup>

The third scene on our bronze is a quadriga represented full face; the whole of one of the horses, most of the chariot, and the driver are unfortunately lost; between the two horses on the left, however, we see the end of a wing, which identifies the driver as either Nike or Eos. This is a very favourite type in all early art, and especially in this particular form of bronze work; but a fuller discussion of it is given in connection with another and finer example of the same school (Pl. VIII.). As to the assignment of this bronze to the Argo-Corinthian school there can be no question: we have just the same general style and the same system of dividing up the scenes. The dividing patterns, though they are not those of the 'orthodox' Argo-Corinthian reliefs, are still just as common in works of the same general school (e.g. *Eph. Arch.* 1893, Pl. XII. 5, X. 2; *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1892, Pl. XIV. and XV.; *Annali*, 1880, Tav. H. 2). Yet our fragment seems to belong to a later and more finished development of the art than the Olympia, Ptoon and Acropolis specimens, on which we find the 'Flechtband' ornament. The relief is lower and the detail is finer; more movement and life is given to the figures and more fulness to the drapery. Much nearer to this work in point of style are the two Dodona fragments (*Carapanos*, Pl. XVI.). These much abused drawings of the fragments do, it is true, represent them with the characteristics of a much later art than those which they really possess. Still a close examination of the fragments themselves shows that in reality they do differ to a slight extent in style from the Olympia and other instances: for just as with our Eleutheræ fragment the relief is distinctly lower and the working out of muscles and other details much fuller.

On the Acropolis at Athens, besides the simple ornamental patterns and those Argo-Corinthian bronzes which are to be published by Dr. Wolters, there are two examples of this class of relief to which I wish to call attention. Both of these come from objects of the same nature, though what these were it is hard to determine. The general shape of the object, though none are preserved whole, can be determined from several fragments. A band of thin bronze, 1 cm. broad and 15 cm. long, joins two fields whose length is 12 cm., while their greatest breadth is about the same. These fields are divided into two parts of equal length, the inner one of which has a curved outline and is not ornamented, while the outer one is in the shape of a trapezoid broadening towards the outside, and is ornamented with relief. Fragments of objects of similar form have been already published (*Annali*, 1880, tav. H; *Carapanos*, *Dodona*, Pl. XIX. 1). All these have small holes along the edge either for

<sup>10</sup> It may be remarked however that there is found on vases a type of a friendly meeting between Athene and Heracles, in which very much the same attitude is preserved (*Vases in B.M.* ii. B. 198; *Gerh. Aus. Vas.* ii. 246). The figure

opposed to Heracles, which occurs on an amphora in the British Museum, is not, as described by Dümmler (*Rom. Mit.* 1887, p. 174), Athene, but Juno Caprotina (v. Roscher, *Lex.* p. 2221; *Gerh. Aus. Vas.* ii. 127).



nailing to wood or for sewing on leather. The two specimens from the Acropolis belong to two very different dates and stages in the development of the art. The first of the two (Fig. 25), the corresponding relief to which



FIG. 25.- (Size of the original.)

is preserved in the larger Acropolis Museum, represents two lions heraldically grouped, each with one forepaw raised to form a sort of column between which is placed a small nude running man carrying a sword in his right hand. It will be seen that this relief differs in no material respect from that published by Furtwaengler (*Annali*, l.c.) with the exception of the addition of the human figure. Without entering into the particular type of these lions, or the relationship they bear to others of the same heraldic character, I would call attention chiefly to the human figure, and the place it occupies in the composition. There are one or two groups of a man between two lions with which we may compare this figure, e.g. a gold stephane (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, taf. 9. 2), and on certain Dipylon vases somewhat similar scenes occur. Here, however, the motive is entirely different: the man is not being eaten by the lions; he is running forward with drawn sword: yet if, as Dr. Furtwängler suggests, the man's position on the gold stephane is to a certain extent modelled on that of the bull in similar groups, we may perhaps see in the position of the small man of our group a further development towards perfect freedom. But I do not think we need look for any closer connection



between the two motives than this, that the existence of such a composition as that of the stephane may have suggested the filling in of the space between the lions with a human figure. The nearest parallel to this group in vase painting is to be found in the so-called Pelops and Rhesus vases (e.g. *Vases in B. M.* ii. B 2, 234-5), where the human figure is represented in a kneeling or running attitude between two rearing horses. In this case however the figure is entirely out of all proportion, and merely serves the purpose of filling in the field, the need for which will be easily recognized if we compare this group with that published in the *Annali*. This is one of the first steps made by the Greek genius in developing and adapting oriental heraldic designs. The composition is still purely decorative, but the design is improved by the addition of the figure filling up the blank, and the character and style of this figure fully bear out this conclusion. Whereas the lions, whatever family they belong to, are certainly not Greek, the human figure belongs to a well-known early Greek type, that of the running-man.

The second Acropolis fragment (represented to full scale on Pl. VIII.), belonging to this style, which we have to deal with represents perhaps the latest and highest development of the school. The bronze is of the most beautiful texture, as thin as paper, and of a bright yellow golden colour, while the technique is of almost incredible delicacy. It is however in a sadly dilapidated condition, and several of the fractures, I regret to add, appear to be modern and due to careless packing since the excavations. The representation is a common one on bronzes of this type, being a full-face view of Nike or Eos driving her quadriga (cf. Carapanos, *Dodona*, Pl. XIX. 1, 2, 4 and the fragment from Eleutherae, Pl. IX., 2). Remarkable in this work is the form of the wings, which is of the more archaic and foreign type, and not of the later Greek shape found in the Dodona fragments. The scene is framed with a spiral pattern made up of a series of dots and outside this a simple line of larger dots. Most remarkable in this fragment however is the technique which is almost akin to that of the gem-engraver. Many of the lines have been worked in a series of dots, e.g. those of the axle of the chariot and of the hair of the figure: the details are added with the finest of graving tools. The wonderful attention paid to these details is characteristic of all early Greek bronze work of the sixth and early fifth centuries; it is indeed just that fineness of work which gives the great charm to the art. We may notice this especially on the group before us: the elaborate arrangement of the hair of the goddess, the wavy lines of drapery below the right shoulder, reminding us of the similar material worn by the old female statues of the Acropolis, the elaborate working out of every part of the chariot, the tails and manes of the horses, and above all the wonderful truth to nature in the heads of the animals—show a minuteness of treatment which at least proves that the art was fully developed at the time when this was made. At first sight indeed it might be thought that this work belongs to the latter half of the fifth century B.C. or at any rate dates from a time posterior to the Persian wars. But there are not wanting signs of archaism also: we may notice especially the symmetrical and almost heraldic grouping



of the horses, which was conventional in early representations (cf. Gerhard *A.V.* i.a lxii.b cvi. 6; Percy Gardner, *Vases in the Ashmolean*, Pl. I.; the Selinus metope, Müller-Wieseler, i. 5, 25), and also the almost lifeless symmetry of the figure of the goddess herself, as well as the archaism of the wings. In this winged figure driving her quadriga, which as we have seen is a conventional type in early art, we seem to find the reason for the addition of birds on either side of the human charioteer so common on vases (e.g. Gerh. cvi. 6, Gardner *l. c.*, also *Dodona*, Pl. XIX.), the birds naturally taking the place of the wings. There is then no reason for attributing this fragment to a date later than the Persian wars and the extreme delicacy of style is characteristic of both vases and other works of the latter half of the sixth century. It is possible that this bronze was the work of an Attic artist and it has many characteristics which are generally considered to be purely Attic; but the golden colour of the bronze, the identity of subject with a well-known and undoubtedly Corinthian type make it certain that, whether actually manufactured at Corinth or not, it is at least a copy of a Corinthian design and may fairly represent the highest development of the early bronze school of Corinth.

Before we leave altogether the discussion of this school of bronze relief I would call attention to another find which seems to present characteristics of such similarity that we cannot well regard it as being a wholly independent production. This is that of the well-known Bomarzo bronzes, fragments of which are preserved in the Museo Gregoriano, the Museo Kircheriano and the Louvre.<sup>11</sup> The principal scenes run in three bands or friezes apparently round some object, as at one point the two ends of the bronze sheet overlap and are riveted together. The scenes represent a Gigantomachia, a Dionysiac procession up to an altar, and warriors setting out for battle (?) (so Dümmler in *Ant. Denk.* i. c.). At first sight there are many apparent differences in style between this work and the Argo-Corinthian bronzes: we have none of the metope-like scenes that characterize the school, while the forms of the human figures belong to anything but the Peloponnesian type, being much coarser and shorter in proportion while the features and heads generally are often almost shapeless or grotesque. But we must also agree with Dümmler that it is impossible that this should be an Etruscan work of art. The elaborate details, more especially in the drapery, where the wavy folds of the outline are strangely like those of the Eleutheræ fragment, the framing in of the scenes by lines of dots and, more than all, the bands of lotos pattern (v. *Denk.* i., 21, 456)—show an unmistakable connection with this Corinthian school. These patterns find their closest parallels in early Corinthian pottery and metal work (e.g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 taf. viii. 7. *Olympia*, iv. No. 936, 755, etc.). These Bomarzo bronzes then may either have emanated from some inferior Corinthian factory, being manufactured for export, or they

<sup>11</sup> *Bull.* 1836, p. 191. *Museo Greg.* i. t. 39. *Mus. zu Karlsruhe*, pp. 57 ff. *Bull. des Mus. Ant. Denkmäler*, i. t. 21. *Rom. Mit.* iii. June, 1892, p. 189.  
178, Schumacher, *Eine Pränestinische Cista im*





FIG. 26.



may be Italian copies of Corinthian work: in either case they attach themselves closely to this early Corinthian school.

Of the other bronze reliefs on the Acropolis, which do not, at any rate obviously, belong to the Argo-Corinthian school, perhaps the most curious is that of Fig. 26. There are thirteen fragments which go to make up the figure as it stands at present, while several others from the pattern border or other scenes, the positions of which with respect to our figure cannot be determined, have also been found. The bronze is about 1 millimetre thick and the figure is blocked out in low *repoussé* relief, the outline and main details being further worked with the graving tool. Our fragments form one division of a bronze sheet divided into at least three fields one above the other. The breadth of this sheet at the level of the bird's heads on the plate is 10·8 inches; but it narrows in gradually from top to bottom. The field is framed by a simple palmette border, the outer or vertical bands being slightly more elaborate than the horizontal. The scene is that of a nude winged man advancing to the left and carrying a goose (?) in either hand. What deity or man is here represented, it is not easy to decide: it would seem to be a male figure corresponding exactly to the 'Persian Artemis,' whom we often find holding birds as well as beasts (e.g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, Plates LXI.-LXIV., Micali, *Mon. Ant.* xvii. 4, xx. 12, *Jahrbuch*, 1888, p. 357, Salzmann, *Cumirus*, Pl. I.).<sup>12</sup> Such male figures, though much more rare, are not unknown, and Gerhard has suggested that they should be called representations of the Phrygian sun-god (*Arch. Zeit.* 1856), while a youthful figure holding two cocks at which two dogs are jumping up, which occurs on the Clazomenae sarcophagus, is called by Loeschke the human soul offering propitiatory offerings to the dogs of Hades (*Aus der Unterwelt*, pp. 4 ff.). Neither of these explanations seems to suit our figure, nor is it a satisfactory solution of the problem to call him a wind god carrying along the birds of the air, a representation for which we could offer no parallel of an early date. We might indeed feel tempted to call our figure a Boread (cf. Tanis, ii. p. 68, Pl. 25, *J.H.S.* 1893, p. 108, *Stud. Cyrene*, p. 18), but the attributes are not distinctive enough to justify the identification; in point of fact it would be a mistake to try to recognize here any definite divinity. Types of male figures fighting birds are well known from the east (e.g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, Pl. LXIV. 3), and also of winged deities with animals (*Id.*, *ib.*). In the instance of a Persian cylinder (Müller-Wieseler, i. 57, 282c) we have a four-winged genius holding two birds, just as our figure. This would then seem to be nothing but a decorative combination of these types, and that of Artemis<sup>13</sup>; in the same way we find on a Rhodian plate in the

<sup>12</sup> Other examples are a terra-cotta relief found by Lenormant at Mycenae (*Arch. Zeit.* 1856), the impress of a seal preserved in the Polytechnic Museum at Athens, and several Mycenae gems, e.g. one in the British Museum (Milchhoeffer, *Anfänge*, etc., p. 86).

<sup>13</sup> Mr. A. J. Evans informs me that he is in this same number of the *Journal* offering a different explanation of a similar gold figure of

Mycenaean style. That figure can undoubtedly be traced back to an Egyptian origin, and a strong Egyptian element appears, as we have seen, in the Acropolis bronzes. But the appearance of the wings of our figure and the absence of any Egyptian characteristics in point of style point at any rate to an equally strong oriental influence.



British Museum (*J.H.S.* vol. vi. Pl. LXIX.) a Gorgon taking the place of Artemis and holding two birds, and another somewhat similar figure on a bronze from Perugia (Studn. *Cyrene*, p. 152, Müll.-Wies. i. 59, 298; cf. also *J.H.S.* vi. p. 281, and the male figure from Orvieto, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, Taf. xi.).<sup>14</sup> The part these eastern designs played in the formation of mythological types has been shown by Milchhoeffer (*Anf.* etc.) and others, and the myth of Heracles and the Stymphalian birds and its type in art was doubtless greatly influenced, if not originated, by such scenes as that on the Babylonian seal referred to above (*Arch. Zeit.* 1854, Fig. 3). This fact is strongly brought out in what is really a caricature scene of the fight (*Compte Rendu*, 1868, p. 75, Pl. IV.). Here we see a pigmy Heracles with lion's skin and club attacking two gigantic cranes, which look down on him from either side. It would certainly seem that this is a caricature of a regular type, and such a type would have many points in common with the scene on our bronze.

Among the other fragments from the same or some very similar relief three only are well enough preserved to be intelligible. The first of these (Fig. 27) shows us part of a boar: unfortunately only the curve of the back over the shoulders, the ear, and the eye are preserved. From the back rises



FIG. 27.—( $\frac{2}{3}$  size of the original.)

a line of short sharp bristles. The second (Fig. 28) preserves a large and highly ornamental rosette, in the right hand corner, the thumb and part of the hand and lower arm of a man, and a piece of the outside border pattern. The third fragment (Fig. 29) has in the upper field a human foot; below this a horizontal border pattern, which differs from that of the other fragments by the addition of two more leaves to the palmette, and in the lower field a hand grasping some curved pointed object armed with points or bristles<sup>15</sup>; to the left of this the handle of a sword of the common early type with a curved crosspiece at the end, which we shall have to deal with again; and to

<sup>14</sup> Six (*J.H.S.* vi. pp. 289 ff., *De Gorgone*, p. 82) strives unnecessarily to find some mythological explanation of the attributes of these figures.

<sup>15</sup> This object may perhaps be the sacred

harp which is represented with a somewhat similar shape (Gerh. *A. V.* II. 79, 3, 4, Baum. *Denk.* pp. 1290—1). In this case the scene would be one from the Perseus myth, cf. Hes. *Scut.* 216 ff. Paus. v. 18, 1.



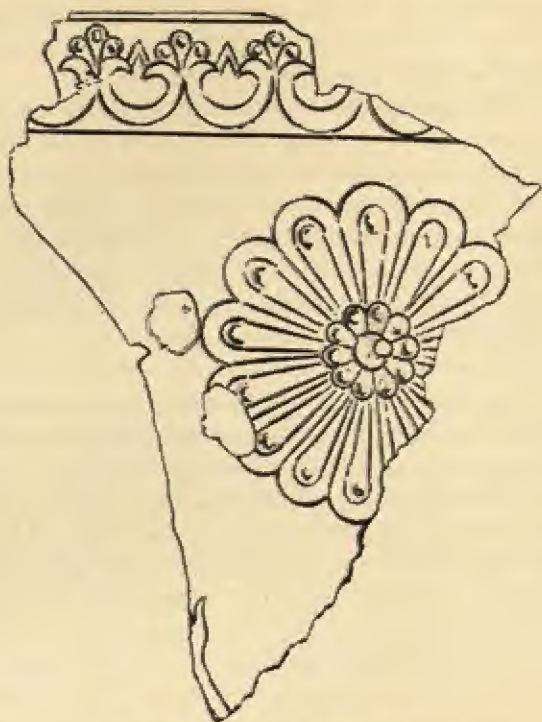


FIG. 28.—( $\frac{2}{3}$  size of the original.)

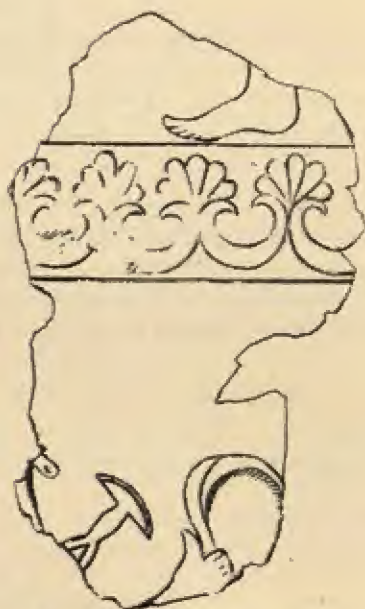


FIG. 29.—( $\frac{2}{3}$  size of the original.)



the left of this again the end of some object, possibly part of a quiver. The relative positions of the various parts of this relief are a puzzle, which can hardly be solved unless more of it is brought to light.

The style of all these fragments is curious. Our first impulse is to compare them with the great Olympia relief (*Ol.* iv. Taf. xxxviii.); but beyond the fact of some similarity in the bronze and in the subject of our large field, there are few peculiarities common to the two works. It is not only that the relief on the Olympia specimen is higher, while it is without the border pattern, which is so prominent in our fragments, but also the whole artistic feeling of the two is different. In the one case every figure is, so to speak, given a decorative character by means of the addition of countless and elaborate details, while every available space is filled in by small dotted rosettes; in the other the severest simplicity is observed: there is no indrawing of details except where absolutely necessary; the only ornament inserted in the field is the large rosette (Fig. 28), which probably comes from the top corner of the original top field, and which certainly does call to mind the somewhat similar rosette belonging to the Olympia specimen. If we compare in more detail this male figure with that of the Olympia Artemis, we shall hardly find a single characteristic common to the two, except perhaps the slightly exaggerated size of the head, a failing shared by many early schools of Greek vase-painting. The hair of our figure is drawn in a few meagre lines; at Olympia Heracles, the Centaur and Artemis have the most elaborate coiffure. Here we find virtually no forehead, and a chin tapering to a sharp point;<sup>16</sup> there the forehead is high and the chin, if anything, retiring. The wings of the male figure are as plain and straight as possible and pass in front of the shoulders; those of Artemis come from the back and curve up at the ends in the pure early Greek fashion (*v. Furt.* in Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. 'Greif') and are elaborately ornamented with a scale pattern and a double row of feathers.<sup>17</sup> Finally, we may contrast the elaborate chiton of Artemis and the rendering of the leg muscles in the Heracles with the dry outline of our figure, not a single muscle of which is rendered either by modelling or indrawing.

The proportions also of this figure are most curious, the length of leg being just three times that of the body from shoulder to hip. Length of leg is a recognized characteristic of certain schools of early Greek art, but these abnormal proportions are more probably due to the length of the field necessary for the introduction of the birds. It is also noticeable that the feet of the man are curved up at the point as though he wore the early Greek boot; but on the leg there is no sign of the bands that belong to this boot (*cf.* the figure above the Tiryns bull and the Olympian cuirass) or any sign at all of the place where it begins. It is possible that the artist did

<sup>16</sup> It may perhaps be thought that this point represents a beard; but if it has been so, the outline must have been carried on over the face. It may be however that this is simply another instance of the absence of in-drawing, like that of the books.

<sup>17</sup> It is impossible in the present state of the bronze to be certain how these wings joined. Probably they curved down from the top to meet in the middle of the breast as is the case with the great Gorgon of the Acropolis.



FIG. 30.—(c.  $\frac{1}{3}$  size of the original.)



not intend the foot to be booted, but neglected to mark in the toes, as a comparison with Fig. 29 will show that the bare foot in this work has just the same outline and that the toes are marked in afterwards. It is impossible to say what object this bronze came from: though it has the shape of a tripod leg, it is not strong enough for such a use by itself, and there are no signs of nail-holes or any other means of fixing it to anything else. Like the Olympia relief it might come from an *ἐγγυθήκη* or vase-stand, but here again the same objection applies. It is quite possible it simply formed a panel on a wall (v. Curt. *Arch. B. aus Ol.* pp. 18 ff., Helbig, *Hom. Ep.* pp. 324 ff.).



FIG. 31.—(c.  $\frac{1}{2}$  size of the original.)

There are on the Acropolis a large number of fragments from the legs of a tripod which seem to belong to the same school of art as this relief. The method of construction of these legs is remarkable: the main framework consists of two long narrow strips of bronze 2 cm. broad and slightly over half a centimetre thick, ornamented with a guilloche or cable pattern, with similar but slightly broader bands running horizontally between at intervals to bind them together. One of these latter runs across near the bottom of Fig. 30. Doubtless at the top and bottom of the legs these cross-bands were broader and stronger. At the back of this framework, and filling in the whole of the empty spaces, was nailed a large sheet of bronze, about



a millimetre thick, ornamented with reliefs divided into scenes one above the other. To protect this at the back was added a strip of bronze at each side, which grows broader towards the bottom, the extreme measurements in the instances surviving being .085 and .046 m. The strength of the leg then was considerable, there being at the points of pressure three thicknesses of bronze, which were fixed together by nails running through the eyes of the cable pattern. It is almost only in these stronger parts that the relief has survived. This technique may be well compared with the 'ladder' arrangement of the crater-stand made by Glaucus and dedicated by Alyattes at Delphi (Paus. x. 16, 1). Only in that case soldering replaced the nails of our bronze, while the spaces between the 'steps' were not filled in.

From the fragments that remain of this bronze it is possible to discover only very little of the designs with which it was ornamented. There are however two lengths of the leg in which we can to some extent make out the general arrangement. The order in which the various patterns and scenes occur on these lengths and their measurements are as follows:—

1st strip beginning at the bottom of the fragment as preserved.	
Back of a man's shoulder and head above which is a palmette pattern (Fig. 31) . . . . .	m. .12
A band of rosettes between two lines . . . . .	.025
A field in which we perhaps can recognize the back of some animal . . . . .	.11
A band consisting of a row of small circles the centres of which are marked. . . . .	.013
Lower part of field above in which nothing can be recognized . . . . .	.04
	<hr/> ·308.
2nd strip beginning at the bottom.	
Pattern of long parallel lines joined at bottom with semicircles (the top of these appears on Fig. 30) . . . . .	m. .091
The cable and round tooth patterns of Fig. 30 . . . . .	.034
The main field of Fig. 30 . . . . .	.158
The pattern above the field of Fig. 30 . . . . .	.02
Remains of an upper field on which appears the back of an heraldic lion rampant . . . . .	.125
	<hr/> ·428.

Little as it is that we can thus gather of the subjects here depicted, it is still enough to enable us to determine the stage in the development of Greek art which is here represented. We see, just as in the Olympia relief, a combination of the heraldic eastern designs with Greek compositions. What the subject of the relief in the field of Fig. 31 is, it is impossible to say. We have nothing left but the back of the head and shoulders of a bearded



man; but in this we notice that the arrangement of the hair is the same as that of our large winged figure tied behind the ear and below that divided into two locks falling in front and behind. Further, the beard is rendered by a number of small dots, a mode of representing hair which we have already noticed. The scene of Fig. 30 however is more intelligible. On the right stands a high tripod, on the left a man in the attitude of boxing, while on the middle fragment we see a toe and heel, the two feet probably of his antagonist. The scene is probably that of a contest for the prize tripod, and not a picture of the fight between Heracles and Apollo, the well-known type of which was already formed (*v. Overbeck, Kg. Apollo*, pp. 372 ff., *Atlas*, xxiii. and xxiv.).<sup>18</sup> The tripod here represented may indeed be the very one of which this formed a part. It is quite different from those of the geometric type, the leg narrowing towards the top and carrying struts to support the ring for the bowl. Like the geometric however, the legs end off square at the bottom and are not carved on lions' feet or on any other such support. Their ornamentation is shown by a simple line of dots, while similar dots run round the ring. On the field above this we see lions in identical attitudes on both sides of the leg, which makes it certain that we have to deal with a heraldic device and not a representation of Heracles and the Nemean lion. In point of style this relief is very closely related to that of the winged man: we have the same arrangement of the scenes, the same open field unburdened with unnecessary devices; here again there is as little indrawing on the figures as is consistent with an adequate representation; the hair of Fig. 31 and the pointed foot and boot of Fig. 30 are exactly similar to those of the other relief; and finally the oriental patterns which divide the fields are of a simpler and less ornate description than the majority of that style. It is true that the proportions of the figures in the relief show more truth to nature, and it is possible that it belongs to a somewhat later date than the other;<sup>19</sup> but the similarities in point of technique and style are convincing as to the fact of their emanating from the same school. Whether this was an Attic school or not we cannot decide. Certainly it was a school endowed with considerable purity of taste, which revolted against the overloading of the scene with ornament to the detriment of the main composition.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Scenes of contests for prizes of tripods are common on early works of art. On one of the Daphnæ vases (Tanis, ii. p. 69, Pl. 39) we have boxing and wrestling scenes with geometric tripods for prizes. Similar scenes occur on the Amphiaræus vase (*Ann.* 1874, pp. 32 ff., *Mon.* x. Pl. 4, 5; cf. Gerh. *A. V.* 258, 257), the chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. 17. 10, 11), the throne of Apollo at Amyclæ (*Id.* iii. 18, 16), and the shield of Heracles (Hes. *Scut.* 302, 313).

<sup>19</sup> It may be remarked, however, that it would be natural that the artist should show greater truth in the figure of a man engaged in some definite athletic exercise than in that of a

strange unnatural foreign deity.

<sup>20</sup> In the Acropolis Museum is preserved the ring of a large tripod about 2 feet in diameter in the centre of which was fixed a full-length figure of a Gorgon, cut out of a thin bronze sheet, mounted in a very slight relief, with details added with a fine graving tool, just as is the case with the large shooting Heracles from Olympia (*Ol.* iv. Taf. 40). This was fixed inside the handle by means of a framework of strips similar to that of our tripod leg, and Dr. Wolters has suggested to me that they may be parts of the same object. This cannot, however, be anything but a conjecture.



There are two other fragments of relief among the Acropolis fragments which must be dealt with here (Figs. 32—33). The first of these shows us parts of two scenes. In the lower one, as it stands on our figure, is preserved the upper part of a warrior. He wears an elaborately ornamented Corinthian helmet, below which three locks of hair fall in front of the right shoulder. In his right hand is raised ready for striking a sword of a type similar to that of Fig. 29, while his left is outstretched probably holding his victim by the hair. Over his left shoulder by means of a triple strap is hung his

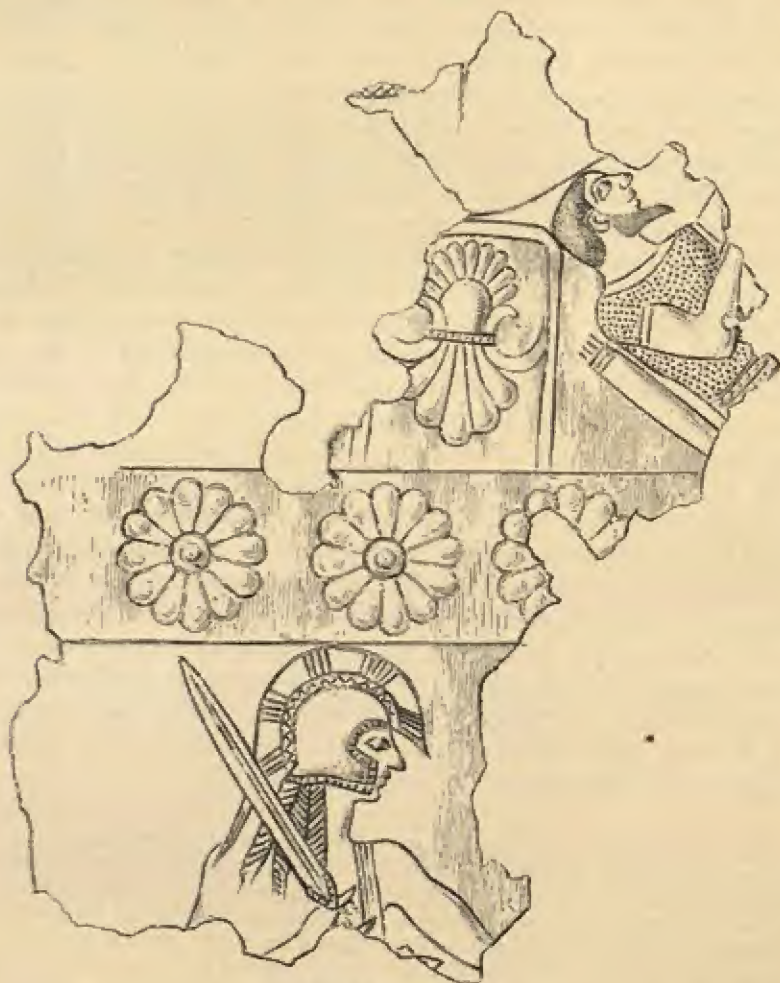


FIG. 32.—( $\frac{1}{2}$  scale.)

scabbard. There are so many mythological scenes which this might apply to, that without further evidence it is impossible to particularize here. In the other field is represented one of the scenes in the life of Heracles. We see Heracles bearded but without a moustache, wearing the short chiton,



his usual garment in early Greek art, and carrying a quiver on his back. His attitude is either that of drawing his bow, or more probably he is holding his bow up in his left hand, and the line just distinguishable on the level with his beard in front is part of his forearm. It is impossible to see whether he held his club in his right hand, or was represented as having just shot an arrow. The upper part of the bow is represented by the line passing over the head: what the small fragment of basket-work seen in the top corner is intended for, it is impossible to decide. Over the head of the warrior runs a line of rosettes, while behind the head of Heracles is let in another small field framed by a double line within which is an elaborate palmette. The other fragment (Fig. 33) shows us simply a part of a similar



FIG. 33.—( $\frac{1}{4}$  scale.)

chiton to that of Heracles and part of an arm. The object held in the hand<sup>21</sup> is uncertain; from behind the back protrudes an extra fold of the chiton, somewhat as on the Olympia cuirass (*Ol. iv. Taf. 59*). The object or objects from which these fragments come cannot be determined: the relative positions of the figures on the larger of the two might suggest to us the cover of a box with reliefs running round it; but it is not easy to say exactly what is the attitude of Heracles, and it certainly would be extremely difficult to restore the rest of his figure without trespassing on the line of rosettes: it would be possible perhaps to fit in a kneeling figure, as on the Olympia bronze the heel hardly projects beyond the line of the quiver: but such a restoration with the upper part of the body thrown so far forward would give us an extremely awkward attitude, while a Greek archer always kept the body perfectly erect. In any case then it would seem impossible that the two fields should have been set at right angles to one another. The rosette band must either have stopped or turned downwards soon after the fracture as it stands at present. This latter arrangement would leave ample room for the victim of the warrior, who from the position of the left arm of the latter does not appear to have been standing upright but would adapt himself admirably to a narrowing field if represented running away,

<sup>21</sup> The line running down from the hand, however, looks very like a bow which on many early vases is represented without a string, e.g. *Ger. Aus. Vas. Pl. 26, 59, 63*. In this case the

arm is in almost exactly the same position as that of Heracles. It is the ordinary position of the bow when not in actual use; cf. Miceli, *Mon. Ant. xxx.*, Gerhard, *A. V. ii. 124*.



somewhat as on the Argo-Corinthian bronze from Olympia (Brunn, *op. cit.* p. 123).

The style of this relief appears to be much further developed than those discussed before. The details are more finished and more decoratively arranged; and in the work as a whole we notice more attempt to make the representations artistic as well as significant. The figures are still archaic to the last degree, but they are neither so meaningless nor so expressionless as the winged figure. This bronze belongs to a time when mythological types were fully formed. The Heracles with his beard and short hair, clad in a short tight-fitting chiton and armed with bow and quiver, is the well-known figure of many early works of art (Furt. in Roscher's *Lexicon*, pp. 2139 ff.). But for all these differences there are many points of resemblance between this and the other bronzes. Again we find the sword with the crosspiece at the end and the blade nailed between the two horns of the handle on either side (cf. Helbig, *Hom. Ep.* pp. 222 ff.): the hair of the warrior is worked in parallel lines as on the tripod leg, the texture of the chiton of Heracles is indicated by dots like those of the man's beard of Fig. 31, while the hair and beard show the same method, carried to greater perfection, both in the fineness of the dots and in the engraved outline: but, more than all, we have again the same type of face and head with the same low forehead and bulbous features. If we put side by side the head of Heracles and that of our winged figure, a very close relationship between the two appears certain. This relief would seem then to represent a later stage in the development of the same school of artists. We have still the full-face representation of the eye in the profiles and many other signs of archaism, as for instance the defects in the drawing of the warrior's left arm; but the advance it shows as compared with the former reliefs is perhaps due to the influence of the Melian and Rhodian schools of vase-painting. The analogies between the former of these and our fragment, as a glance at Conze's work will show, are very striking. There we find the same method of rendering the hair and the chiton, and the same insertion of supplementary patterns, especially palmettes, in the field, though in our bronze, it is true, the palmette is given a separate field to itself. We are however, as far as ever from being able to localize the school which produced these works; it is true that on this as on our other specimens we have the form of sword found on Dipylon vases, and that the beard of Heracles bears a close resemblance to those of the Typhon figure on the Acropolis; but this evidence is not strong enough to justify anything more than a diffident suggestion that the work may be Attic. The full publication of the Acropolis vases will doubtless throw much light on the question: in any case we must wait for more data on the subject before we can definitely assign bronze reliefs to their various schools.

I am aware that this paper contains but a very meagre account of the Acropolis bronzes. Much that is of interest has been left unnoticed, many conclusions suggested by these works have been left unformulated. In numbers and importance the Acropolis bronzes hardly fall short of those found at Olympia, and the full publication, which they deserve, would



trespass beyond the limits of this *Journal* and need the experience and acumen of a Furtwaengler. It has been my object with as little delay as possible to put before archaeologists a few of the most important, one or two of which I hope to have an opportunity of dealing with in greater detail. Finally, I wish to offer my warmest thanks to Mr. E. A. Gardner, whose help throughout my work has been of the greatest value to me, and to Dr. C. Waldstein, who has read through this paper and both corrected many errors and offered many valuable suggestions.

A. G. BATHER.



NEWLY-DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS OF THE BALUSTRADE  
OF ATHENA NIKE.

[PLATE X.]

THE immediate object of this paper is to publish three fragments of sculpture, which I had the good fortune to find on the Acropolis at Athens during the present year, and which may be, I think, claimed as belonging to the reliefs which ran round the bastion of Athena Nike. At the same time I should like to draw attention to, and discuss, certain corrections which have recently been made in some fragments of the same reliefs in the Acropolis Museum, and to make a few suggestions with regard to others.

The most important of the new fragments, which is reproduced in the plate, was found among a small heap of *débris* upon the top of the bastion fifteen yards to the east of the temple of Athena Nike. The marble is Pentelic; the sculptured surface measures roughly 40 m. by 28 m., the back of the slab is finished and the thickness from the back to the ground from which the relief springs is 23 m., while the height of the relief is 12 m. These measurements, which correspond exactly to the measurements of other slabs that we possess of the balustrade, the high relief, and delicate style of the torso all show that this fragment undoubtedly belongs to the balustrade. Further evidence is present in the small hole drilled in the top for the insertion of the bronze screen, which ran along the top of the slabs. The fragment consists of the left shoulder and breast, and portions of the left arm and wing of a Nike. Some of the right shoulder is also preserved, with traces of the right wing. The figure wears the Doric chiton, which is fastened over the wing and shoulder. The head as usual is gone, but there are signs of its attachment to the slab. It appears to be a portion of a winged figure at rest. The left arm is pressed closely to the side and forms a slight wrinkle in the flesh between the arm and breast. For delicacy of execution and softness of modelling the fragment will stand high even among the existing remains of the balustrade.



The second fragment (Fig. 1) was lying among a heap of worked stones<sup>1</sup> below the bastion, close to the house of the guardian at the south-west corner of the Acropolis. It is of Pentelic marble; the sculptured surface measures 45 m. by 18 m. None of the back but a small portion of the top of the slab is preserved, and the presence again of the small hole above for the bronze screen helps to establish the identity of the fragment. It is a portion of a right wing of a Nike seen from the inside; the upper



FIG. 1.

part is left plain, the lower part is worked. On the right the surface of the slab can be seen between the head and top of the wing, and where the wing begins to be feathered are signs of an attachment—possibly of a hand carrying some object. The wing is very carefully worked and the feathers are cut in different planes. It is noticeable that the two parts of the wing are clearly distinguished and are not both left plain, as is sometimes the case in this sculpture.

<sup>1</sup> It might be well to mention that the bird belonging to a moulding supposed to come from the Erechtheum, and drawn in Penrose's *Prin-*

*ciples of Athen. Archit.*, 2nd edit. ch. x., which has long been missing, was also here. It has now been placed in the Acropolis Museum.



The third fragment (Fig. 2) was lying in the house of the guardian mentioned above. The marble is Pentelic; the sculptured surface measures .21 m. by .09 m. Nothing of the top or back of the slab is preserved, but in size and style it corresponds so nearly to the other fragments of the balustrade that there can be little doubt as to its identity. It consists of the left breast and shoulder, with drapery, of a Nike; and a portion of the wing can be traced behind the shoulder. The drapery is very characteristic, being worked with great boldness; the folds are sharply cut on the top, undercut below, and flow in graceful curves towards the girdle.

Unfortunately none of these fragments can be fitted to the sculpture already in the Acropolis Museum. As to their position in the balustrade, I can only suggest that the first of them (Plate X.), from the extreme delicacy of the work, may have been meant to be seen from very near, and may have been placed on that portion of the balustrade which protected the small staircase to the bastion.



FIG. 2.

One considerable advance in our knowledge of the sculptures of the balustrade has been made in the last few years by the recovery of the lower part of the figure of Athena (Kekulé,<sup>2</sup> Pl. II. C). I have not been able to ascertain when or where it was found, but presumably it was during the recent excavations on the Acropolis. The new portion is about .70 m. in length while about .25 m. of the lower part of return of the slab, this being one of the corner-pieces, is preserved. It can now be seen (Fig. 3) that Athena sits upon a rock to the right, with her shield, which is represented at full length, beside her; her right arm is raised, probably holding a spear, and rests upon the top of the shield.

Several interesting points are brought out by the recovery of the whole of this figure. In the first place the ingenious restoration by Dr. Kekulé of

<sup>2</sup> *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike.* Stuttgart, 1881.



the figure as Athena seated on a ship is proved to be wrong. From this restoration many inferences were drawn as to the significance of the reliefs.<sup>3</sup> In the second place a comparison of the figure with the other seated figure of Athena (Kekulé, Pl. II. E) shows us two distinct methods of representing



FIG. 3.

the shield, which, I believe, were adopted by the artist for a definite purpose. The shield in Fig. 3 is shown at full length, while in the other it is very much foreshortened; that is, as I should suggest, the former was intended to

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck was never convinced by this restoration, v. *Geschichte d. Griech. Plastik*, 4th edit. vol. i. p. 487.



be seen at nearly the level of the spectator and the latter from a considerable distance below. This is a strong confirmation of the respective positions which have generally been assigned to the two figures in the balustrade, namely, that one figure belongs to the north-east corner, where it would be seen from just below, and that the other was placed in the centre of the west side, where it would be seen from forty feet below.

In the third place we now know that the two figures of Athena which have been recovered are each of them seated upon a rock. It has generally been assumed that a third figure of Athena was represented on the south side of the balustrade; one fragment (Kekulé, Pl. VI. C.C.) may possibly be a portion of the figure. If this was the case, we must place the goddess at the



FIG. 4.

east end of the south side, in order to correspond to the Athena (Kekulé, Pl. II. C.), whose position can be fixed at the east end of the north side; for there seems to be no good reason for assuming with Kekulé (Pl. VII.) that a Nike stood behind the goddess on this side. If then this was the position of the third figure it seems more than probable that Athena, for the sake of symmetry, was, in this case too, represented as seated upon a rock. If the artist had wished to make one of the three figures different to the other two, he surely would have chosen the one on the west side, which is the central point in the whole composition, and not one of those, which, from their position at the ends of the north and south sides, must have been intended to match one another. Another point is incidentally made more clear by the preservation of some portion of the return of this corner-piece. The curva-



ture of the ground of the relief, shown in the section drawn in Kekulé's work (Pl. III. C) and by him mistaken for the prow of a ship, can now be clearly seen at the bottom of the slab as well as at the top. This shows that this was the method employed for finishing off each side of the balustrade, in fact that the figures instead of standing out from one continuous plane as on the frieze of a temple-are, as it were, framed at each corner by a curvature of the ground of the relief.<sup>4</sup>

One important correction has been recently made in the Acropolis Museum. The slab containing a standing Nike turned to the left (Kekulé, Pl. V. T) has been joined to the corner slab (Kekulé, Pl. I. B). Both slabs were found on the south slope of the Acropolis in the year 1877. The join is shown in Fig. 4, and is important as proving Kekulé's restoration of the figure, to which the wing on T. belongs, to have been wrong. The figure is turned to the left and not to the right, and the wing is not the outside of a left wing but the inside of a right wing, as Petersen (*loc. cit.* p. 264) has already remarked. This corner slab can almost certainly be placed at the south-west corner of the balustrade, and, now that it has been completed, we are enabled to judge of the relation which one side of the balustrade bore to another. The interpretation of the object before which the Nike (Fig. 4) is standing, is so doubtful that it is difficult to say how she was occupied; but it seems certain that her action has nothing to do with that of the Nike, on the return of the slab (Kekulé, Pl. I. B), who is hurrying away to the left. In fact, confirmation is given to the view advanced by Petersen that each side of the balustrade was a separate scene in itself and entirely independent of the other sides.

An examination of the fragments in the Acropolis Museum has convinced me that two pieces of technical evidence have been passed over by previous investigators. I will deal first with the figure of a Nike moving to the left (Kekulé, Pl. III. G), to which the hand with a portion of a shield (Kekulé, p. 9) has been joined. Kekulé and Petersen have observed that several of the slabs, from the manner in which they are cut out behind, must have been placed along the west side of the bastion immediately in front of the temple. Of these the most important are the figure of Athena and the kneeling Nike (Pl. II. E, and Pl. VI. DD). Of the others, with the exception of the hand carrying a helmet (Kekulé, p. 12), which cannot with certainty be placed here, little can be judged, as it is impossible to determine in what action the figures were engaged. But the slab in question is cut out behind in precisely similar fashion to the others. To make the matter clearer I have drawn out what is preserved of the slab, as accurately as possible in its present position in the Museum,  $\frac{1}{16}$  of the real size. The existing portion is drawn in section, while the shape of a whole normal slab and the line of the relief-ground are indicated by dotted lines. Below is given, with no technicalities, the profile of the lower step of the temple, the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Petersen's review of Kekulé's work, *Zeitschrift f. d. österreich. Gymnasien*. 1881, iv. p. 267.



small step below it, and the cornice running round the bastion. Behind the figure, '04 m. above the level of the point of the knee, which is indicated by P in the cut, the slab is cut back along its whole length for a distance of about '12 m. from the finished surface behind. Below this a vertical cutting can be traced. Now the knee of the 'Sandal-binder' is '28 m. above the ground, *i.e.* '32 m. above the bottom of the slab; the height of other knees above the ground is rather less. So from the point of the knee P to the bottom of the slab the measurement may well have been '31 m. That gives us '35 m. for the height of the horizontal face of the cutting above the bottom of the slab. This is exactly the height of the tread of the first step of the temple above the pavement of the bastion, upon which the slabs of the Balustrade were laid. So this cutting, if it is original, which there seems no reason to doubt,

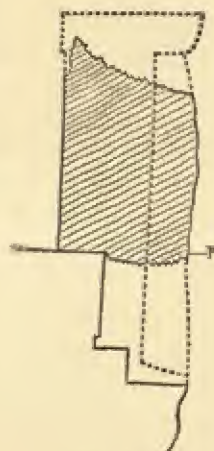


FIG. 5.

must have been intended to fit over the tread of the temple step, and this slab must have been placed on the west side of the bastion in front of the temple. The question remains whether it is possible to determine the position of the slab within still narrower limits. The figure of Athena (Kekulé, Pl. II. E) would have most probably occupied the left side of the fifth slab from the north-west corner.<sup>5</sup> This only leaves room for two figures to the south between her and the corner of the temple. Our figure seems to be moving quickly to the left, and so could hardly have been placed so near to Athena on this side, and thus we are justified in placing her to the left or north of the goddess. In that case she may have been carrying a shield towards some trophy, the erection of which Athena is watching on the left, while a sacrifice is performed by the kneeling figure (Kekulé Pl. VI. D. D) immediately on the right.

The other fragment which seems to me to call for discussion is the so-called Persian trophy (Kekulé, p. 12). It has generally been assumed that

<sup>5</sup> Peterson, *loc. cit.* p. 275.



this most probably forms part of the sculpture of the balustrade. But a grave objection may be raised to it.<sup>6</sup> The surface behind the slab, the whole thickness of which is only 0.4 m., exclusive of the relief, as compared with a thickness of .23 m. in all slabs where the back is preserved, has every appearance of being an original finished surface. Besides this the work is decidedly poor, and its ugliness is noticed both by Petersen and Kekulé.<sup>7</sup> I should suggest, then, that one of three inferences may be drawn. (a) That it forms no part of the balustrade; against this it may be urged that subject, size, and general appearance are in favour of its belonging to our series: (b) that a diminution in the thickness of certain slabs may have been caused by the presence of some other object, possibly the statue of Hecate, upon the bastion, as is suggested by Petersen in another case:<sup>8</sup> (c) that it was introduced at some late period, and let in to another slab in order to replace some other trophy which may have been damaged. Of these the latter seems to me the most probable. It might well be a Roman imitation of the original work.

Besides the additions already mentioned three fragments, Nos. 983, 984, and 1007, have been added to the Acropolis Museum. They are a portion of a torso, the lower part of a right leg, and a portion of a left shoulder and breast. All of them are in bad condition and of no great importance.

Of the advances which have been made in our knowledge of these reliefs, the discovery of the lower part of the figure of Athena is the only one which has real bearing on the whole meaning of the sculpture. The accepted restoration of this figure, as seated on a ship, was a great stumbling-block in the way of those who wished to find a satisfactory theory as to the significance of the balustrade and the relation it bore to the sculpture of the frieze of the temple. On the hypothesis that the reliefs of the balustrade were complementary to the sculpture of the frieze, a reference has been traced in both to such battles as Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, Mycale, and Eurymedon.<sup>9</sup> Of these the three first seem to be by far the most probable, but hitherto there has always been this objection to them. Athena as restored on a ship faced towards Marathon and away from Salamis. But now we are at liberty to take the north side, which looks towards Pentelicus, to represent Marathon, the west side, which faces Cithaeron, to represent Plataea, and the south side, which faces the sea, to represent Salamis. The rudder (Kekulé, p. 12) may be placed on the south side, since there is now no longer any reason for thinking that the north side refers to a sea-fight. With regard to the frieze we may consider the three sides (north, west, and south) as representations of three different battles. The two battles of Greeks against Persians on the north and south sides will represent the

<sup>6</sup> Studniczka is of opinion that the evidence against the fragment is not convincing, v. *Athen. Mittheil.* xiv. p. 365, but his reasons are not stated.

<sup>7</sup> Kekulé, *loc. cit.* p. 21. Petersen, *loc. cit.*

p. 276.

<sup>8</sup> Petersen, *loc. cit.* p. 270.

<sup>9</sup> For the balustrade alone the battles of Abydos, Cyzicus and Byzantium have been suggested, v. *Athen. Mittheil.*, *loc. cit.*



Athenians at Marathon and Salamis, the battle of Greeks against Greeks on the west side will refer to the part taken by the Athenians at Plataea, in which battle they were not engaged with the barbarians. The obvious objection to this is that there is no indication of a sea-fight given on the south side of the frieze, but it may fairly be retorted that it would be almost impossible to represent a naval engagement in the small available space. Indications that such a battle was intended might well have been given by such objects as the rudder (Kekulé, p. 12) placed on the balustrade below. Such a theory has this in its favour: it has never been considered, by those who would make the sculpture of the frieze refer only to the battle of Plataea, how the Athenians would be likely to represent that battle. The date of the temple is now generally given as 432—430, that is, just at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>10</sup> At that time it seems to me that the Athenians would be hardly likely, in such a conspicuous building, to give up two sides of the temple to the portrayal of exploits mainly performed by Spartans.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Ernest Gardner for assistance in the preparation of this paper. He has been kind enough to discuss all the technical points with me on the spot, and has taken the photographs which are reproduced in the plate and cuts.

V. W. YORKE.

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<sup>10</sup> c. Wolters in *Bonner Studien*, 1890, p. 92 ff.



SELECTED VASE-FRAGMENTS FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF  
ATHENS.—I.

[PLATES XI., XII.]

THE vase-fragments from the Acropolis of Athens, here published for the first time (Plates XI. and XII.), with the exception of one which appeared long ago in Benndorf's *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder* (Pl. XI. 6), are of the greatest interest, not merely as problems of restoration difficult enough to satisfy the most ardent enthusiast for Greek ceramography, but because of the important position they occupy among the vase-finds of the Acropolis, which have already revolutionized vase chronology, and to the careful study of which we may look for much more light in the future. They are perhaps the most important fragments in the black-figured style which have hitherto remained unpublished, and as the majority of these older fragments are either hasty and careless productions or less interesting in subject than the less numerous but more uniformly important remains of red-figured works, it is the more desirable that they should become known to the learned world. Several of the fragments were drawn for the Hellenic Society some years ago, and when I had opportunity of access to the Museum of the Acropolis two years back, it was my pleasant duty to search for other portions of the original vases, with a view to a more complete publication. I was successful in bringing together several that are now published, the drawings being executed by the practised hand of M. Gilliéron, who had been commissioned with the earlier work. It is therefore hardly necessary to state that these drawings are scrupulously faithful, especially as Mr. Ernest Gardner has been kind enough to supervise their execution. For the permission to publish them I am much indebted to M. Kavvadias, the General Ephor of Antiquities. The fragments belonged to three or possibly four vases. Plate XI. Fig. 1 gives seven fragments of the outside scenes of a large kylix<sup>1</sup>; the two fragments below (Fig. 2) probably belong to the same work, and if so, owing to the thickness of the clay, to the upper rather than to the lower frieze, but it is also possible that they may be part of a different vase. On this point I am scarcely able to

<sup>1</sup> The remains of several b.f. kylikes of large dimensions have been found on the Acropolis, cp. the one whose outside scenes are a chariot-

race and a Gigantomachy, not yet completely published.



pronounce, not having myself seen them, and I can only accept the opinion of those who have brought them into this connexion. Plate XII. Fig. 1 reproduces seven fragments of a large vase of the shape commonly called *Deinos* (sometimes 'fussloser Krater' or *Holmos*), which must have measured about ten inches in diameter from inner rim to inner rim. The first feeling on seeing what is left to us must necessarily be one of disappointment, that so very little remains of what was undoubtedly a magnificent vase. One may conjecture that it rested on a separable stand (perhaps of shape 204 in Furtwängler's Berlin Catalogue), but there are apparently no fragments of anything of the kind; or it may have stood alone like the specimen painted under the horses of a quadriga in the Chariot-race frieze of the François vase. Unlike that however there is here no rim setting off from the body of the vase. Finally Plate XII. Fig. 2 shows an isolated fragment, drawn in the earlier batch, which I was unable to associate with any others. It cannot be certainly assigned to any special vase-form. As the drawings are in each case of the size of the original, measurements are unnecessary. In no case do we find the discolouring produced by fire on several of the Acropolis fragments, but the upper coats of paint are often much worn. Since the vases were broken into so many pieces, it is obviously impossible to obtain information as to the circumstances and locality of the find in each case, nor is it of much consequence, since no one presumably will question the pre-Persian date of the fragments, because one fragment was in the Athenian collections long before the excavations on the S. side of the Parthenon. As it is hardly necessary to maintain by argument the genuine archaism of these vases, we may pass on at once to the detailed description of them.

A.—Plate XI. On the outside of a *kylix*, which must have been of considerable dimensions, we find the remains of two friezes, the upper doubtless the larger of the two. The colours employed, other than black, are a rich purple and a yellowish white, apparently laid on over black. The incised line is used freely on a black surface, as on the hair and flesh of men; but on a yellow surface, *e.g.* the flesh of a woman or a *chiton*, the inner drawing is rendered with thin streaks of black. Inscriptions are annexed to the figures, some running from right to left, others from left to right, and composed of large letters laid on in broad strokes. These belong to the older Attic alphabet; the aspirate still has the cross-bar at top and bottom, the vertical stroke of *rho* does not project below the rounded one, the *sigma* has three strokes but is of rounded formation, while one half-preserved letter is of irregular shape. The whole character of the lettering points to a date as early as or earlier than 550 B.C., and roughly corresponding with that of *e.g.* the Moschophorus dedication. First let us take the fragments of the upper frieze, which is enclosed by two black lines—one close to the rim of the vessel, the other supporting the feet of the figures represented. The position of the four fragments to the left of the plate in relation to one another is within narrow limits certain. We see walking to left a female figure, the sex being indicated by the yellow slip, which covers the feet.



The upper fragment shows the back of the head crowned apparently by a sort of high 'polos' suitable to a goddess, indicated by stripes one of which is yellow, while from beneath it the hair falls in a long plait, of which the separate tresses are marked by incised lines on black. She wears a long chiton painted black, on which a scale pattern is traced with the point, the scales being in many cases touched up by spots of purple; the border at the bottom and the sandal straps are also given in purple. At the waist a spot of yellow paint seems to be the end of a girdle, and the hanging end above it seems to be the tip of an ample diplois. To judge from the other inscriptions, we have lost the name of this goddess, as it was probably written vertically to left of her. There are no sufficient data to justify an attribution, as the scales may merely be a form of decoration for the chiton, and it may just as well have been another goddess as Athena or Amphitrite. Immediately following her is the best preserved figure, the bearded and ivy-crowned Dionysos, inscribed Διόνυσος[ος], the upper part of his body being almost entirely preserved. His right arm is bent at the elbow and he holds in his hand the kantharos; in his outstretched left hand is a vine-branch, the grape-bunches being represented by dashes of black enclosed by wavy incised lines and the leaves by purple. The short-sleeved chiton is covered with a yellow slip, and wavy lines of thin black represent its woollen texture, as do the thin brown lines of the severe red-figured style. The purple himation passes over his left shoulder, and its end is drawn over the left arm. What is most noticeable in the figure is that the face and neck are also painted purple, which seems simply to be done for the sake of variety and contrast of colour (see for this Plate XII. where there is a similar use of purple for the human body). The beard, moustache, hair, eye and ear are rendered by black, and the detail is given by incised lines. The eye 'en face,'<sup>2</sup> with eyebrow indicated, and the ear are very carefully drawn, and the leaves of the ivy wreath are done in purple. The head, drawn with the most refined care, and the attitude remind us of the Dionysos on the oinochoe of Cholchos (*Wiener Vorl. Blätter*, 1889, i), which however lacks the archaic naïveté of this vase and shows the stereotyped woodenness of advanced b.f. vase-painting, or of the head of the seated figure on the plate from Marathon (*Ath. Mitth.* vol. vii. Pl. III.), which is also apparently a Dionysos. There can be no better sample of early Attic vase-painting at its best than this head. Beneath the vine-branch are the puzzling remains of an inscription, a vertically written  $\Pi$ , then after a space for at least four letters a trace of another (?  $\Delta$ ) on the fragment which bears the feet of the goddess; here the letters seem to turn round in the reverse direction, and finally behind the  $\Pi$  parts of an  $\Xi$  and  $\nabla$  (the latter joins on to the vine-branch but

<sup>2</sup> It has been somewhat absurdly suggested that the eyes of Dionysos on the François vase are intended to express the effect of wine. The double circle with or without indication of the

corners is the conventional representation of the male eye at this period. One might as well suggest that a similar reason prompted the rendering of Dionysos' face here in red!



cannot be part of it), with space beyond for at least one more letter. I must confess myself unable to suggest any probable restoration. In this position the names of Poseidon and Zeus are impossible. An artist's signature here is not very likely, and a combination of meaningless letters, such as occur on later b.f. vases, is not to be thought of, nor the later *πίει εὖ*. There is also the difficulty of the position of the letters and the improbability that they had reference to the goddess in front.

Behind Dionysos is the vertically written inscription *Ἀφροδί[τη]* and a small part of a female figure, clad in a purple robe dotted with yellow spots in groups of four, who bears on her left (?) arm, of which the bracelet is indicated by two thin black lines, a little black child holding on by its right hand. One thinks at once of the passage in the description of the Chest of Kypselos (Paus. v. 18, 1)—*πεποίηται δὲ γυνή παῖδα λευκὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα τῷ καθεύδοντι ὁμοκῶτα, ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας.*<sup>2</sup> *δηλοῖ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἔστι Θάνατόν τε εἶναι σφᾶς καὶ Ὑπνον καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τροφόν.* Why Pausanias thought the identification so very obvious, one is at a loss to say; for if he had not mentioned the inscriptions, and particularly if the scene had occurred in the topmost *χώρα*, one might have been tempted to suppose in the light of this fragment that he was wrong. But, as Brunn has recently pointed out (*Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 174), it is unjustifiable to assume errors in Pausanias' description, unless there be some such sufficient reason as the absence of inscriptions in the original. Here we have only to see one of the common instances of the transference of early art-types from one subject to another. Assuming as one fairly may that the two types were practically identical, one might proceed to argue that, as on the Chest there was a white boy on the right arm of Night, therefore we see here the left arm of Aphrodite, as the boy is black. But apart from the improbability that an early artist, aiming at contrast of colour, would have represented the boy and the arm on which he sat in one colour, such reasoning is rendered impossible by the fact that among the Acropolis vases is a sherd of later date (hitherto unpublished) on which Aphrodite clad in a stately chiton and himation is represented bearing on her elbows two little naked boys *both black*. Thus I have no doubt we should restore this vase. One may even hazard the suggestion that the difference of colour between the two on the Chest was due to damage or discolouring. Miss Harrison, in a paper read before the Hellenic Society (*J.H.S.* vol. x. 'Transactions' p. xxxvii.), when dealing with this fragment, 'rejected the interpretation that the child was Eros and maintained that Aphrodite was represented in the more general aspect of Kouroutrophos.' Now it is likely that Aphrodite as well as Gē was worshipped at Athens under this title (and probably in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos, which Paus. i. 22, 3 tells us stood close to that of Gē

<sup>2</sup> This expression should mean 'splay-footed,' i.e. with the feet twisted unnaturally apart. If so, the point is not illustrated by our vase.



Kourotrophos on the south-west slope of the Acropolis<sup>4</sup>), especially as Sophocles is quoted as having addressed her by this name (Athenaeus xiii. 592 A) as did Plato the Comedian; but the child is certainly Eros or rather Himeros, as on the unpublished fragment just alluded to we find on the one side the inscription ΖΟΥΕΜΗΗ, on the other Ε[ΡΟΣ]. I cannot however see the antagonism between the two facts. These vase-fragments give us the earliest representations of Eros as yet known (see Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, pp. 1349—50); but these little naked puppets are obviously the symbols of a cult, quite distinct from the art-type of the winged boy, which was developed under the influence of lyric poetry. One must think here rather of a primitive worship of natural powers, such as was the cult of Eros at Thespiai, into which this picture of Aphrodite as a mother gives us a glimpse, and put it down to the growing influence of poetry, when the names of Himeros and Eros are added. The two other fragments of this vase are tantalizingly small. On one we see part of the head of a goddess also moving to left (as was Aphrodite probably), who was dressed in the same fashion as Dionysos with chiton in yellow and himation in red, her hair being bound with a stephane, the encircling band in yellow and the fastenings of the back-hair in purple. Behind is an uplifted hand probably belonging to another goddess, the name Δημήτηρ[ρ] being written above from right to left. It is also possible that the name belongs to the goddess whose head is preserved. The other fragment shows portions of the legs of two figures. To left is the lower corner of a purple robe ornamented in the same way as that worn by Aphrodite, and a purple boot fastened round the ankle (incised lines on black) with the projecting tongue in front used for pulling the boot on.<sup>5</sup> As the portion of the leg shown is black, there being no traces of an upper coat of yellow having worn off, and this kind of boot is usually found worn by men, it seems best not to regard this as the leg of Aphrodite in spite of the identity of the dress. In so large a group of figures as that on this vase the same dress might naturally be repeated. The shortness of the chiton also indicates a god as the wearer. Behind comes Ἀρτεμις, of whom remain only a portion of the long chiton (purple with black border enclosed by incised lines) and a foot from which the purple paint of the boot is partly worn away showing a black ground beneath. We see then here a procession of divinities, but it is hardly a profitable subject for discussion to inquire what scene was here represented. Half a dozen might be suggested and really there are no data by which to decide between them.

We now turn to the scanty remains of the lower frieze. In the fragment

<sup>4</sup> In this context see the important remarks of Dr. Winter on the early cult of Aphrodite on the Acropolis in his paper on the 'Acropolis Terra-cottas' read before the Berlin Archäologisch-Gesellschaft (*Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, Oct. 28, 1893).

<sup>5</sup> Scherer has pointed out (Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 2400, s.v. *Hermes*) how this kind of boot

worn by other gods and heroes beside Hermes (cp. Theseus on the vase of Taleides) probably suggested the wings on the ankles of the god, which are in later works more appropriately placed behind but on early vases appear in front (cp. Perseus on the Aeginetan lebes, *A.Z.* 1882, pl. 9, and Hermes on the vase of Sophilos *Ath. Mith.* 1889.)



which contained the feet of the first goddess is a portion of a scene to which another fragment fits. Here we see first an arm painted yellow, grasping a spear, and a kneeling female figure to right, naked except for a purple himation falling down her back and doubled over the left arm, which is extended in supplication. She is being seized by the right wrist by a man, of whom only part of the purple himation and the left arm are preserved. The hair of the woman is confined by a purple stephane, and incised lines in two places show the way in which it is arranged as it falls down the back. The inner drawing of the body is rendered in thin black lines. Happily we are left in no doubt as to the scene represented, as the name *Ἰσμήνη* is added, and one calls to mind the amphora from Caere with inscriptions in Corinthian alphabet, *Ἰσμήνη, Τυδεύς, Περιφλύμενος, Φλύτος* (*Wiener V.B.* 1889 xi. 4), which apparently represents the same scene. According to the argument to Sophocles' *Antigone*, Mimnermos was the poetical authority, but doubtless the tale was already told in the lost *Thebais* how Tydeus surprised Periklymenos (or, according to the argument, Theoklymenos) the Theban with Ismene and slew her. The paramour seems to make his escape on the Corinthian vase, though as he was the slayer of Parthenopaïos, one of the seven (Paus. ix. 18, 6, quoting the *Thebais*), one may conjecture that the object of Tydeus was to take vengeance, and only disappointed fury prompted him to slay Ismene. We can have little doubt that the same story was depicted here. Ismene has fallen on her knees imploring mercy with uplifted hand, as in the Caere amphora, but the rough grasp of Tydeus seems to show that her appeal will be in vain. Of this frieze there remains only part of a retrograde inscription, under the feet of Artemis, the first letter being probably Μ, the second certainly Ε and in the third I can only see a Ν, of which the right *hasta* has been rounded by a careless stroke. If this is so, the fragment should be moved to the extreme left, and we may then conjecturally restore [*Περικλύμενος*]. In that case the difficulty of understanding why a woman should be holding a spear is removed, and this arm will belong to Periklymenos making his escape to left, as in the Caere amphora, and here also with his body painted the colour which is conventionally applied only to women. It is however surely a misconception to ascribe this to a desire on the artist's part to indicate effeminacy, but it is really due, at any rate in the Caere vase, to the artistic aim at contrast of colours. If it be replied that here Ismene and Periklymenos would be next to one another, whereas on the other vase they are divided by the black body of Tydeus, I should say that the dress of Periklymenos himself, if preserved, would in all probability show how a contrast of colour was effected. It only remains to say a word about the two much damaged fragments represented in Fig. 2, as to which I cannot absolutely satisfy myself that they belonged to this vase. We see two female figures in conversation with outstretched arms, one with purple himation (possibly over yellow chiton), the other with the so-called Oriental wings, rendered by a purple patch and then incised lines on black, and a



purple garment. A piece of a similar wing is all that remains of a lower frieze on the vase of Sophilos. Possibly there were only stylized figures on either side of a handle, which would account for the break in the middle. Of the puzzling objects to the left (spears and shield?) I can give no explanation.

*B.*—Plate XII. Fig. 2 (to take the less important first) is an isolated fragment of later date, as here we have the open Η. Beneath a double anthemion and lotus-bud pattern exactly similar to that of the vase of Sophilos, expressed by incised lines with patches of red imposed, is the helmeted head of a warrior, who with right arm drawn back is about to plunge his spear into the body of a foe. Nothing is visible of the latter except a black patch, which might be part of a shield, and a curved object in purple, which was probably some part of the armour. The object in black and purple behind the warrior's head is also of uncertain attribution. Only the eye and nose of the warrior are seen, the nose-flap of the Corinthian helmet not being indicated in a profile view. The helmet is purple; the crest and face are given by incised lines on black, a pattern on the crest being added in white, now barely visible. In the field we read ΑΡΙΣΤΑ and ΗΕΦ. The latter would naturally be restored *Ἡφ[αιστος]*, which suggests that here is one of the duels of a Gigantomachia. In that struggle Hephaistos is generally represented as taking part, though he has no fixed antagonist. The other word is not likely to be a love-name or an artist's signature, and as Suidas mentions a giant Aristaios, son of Uranos and Gaia, we may restore that name. The nomenclature of the Giants is very shifting, so that the rarity of the name is no objection. It may be added that the Gigantomachia is a subject frequently represented on the Acropolis vases, and seems to have been very common on votive pinakes, where Athena figures laying Enkelados low.

*C.*—Plate XII. Fig. 1 presents a subject of great interest especially on account of its inscriptions, and both the friezes, which are partially preserved, seem to have been agonistic in character. Round the rim of the vase runs a broad black line, below it a broad red one, and then depending from another black line the pattern, which is invariably just below the junction of neck and body of the 'vasi-a-colonnnette' from Caere, and is also common on Attic amphorae and in a similar position on the older hydriae of the metallic shape. It is formed by rows of parallel strokes connected by rounded ones and enclosing alternately a patch of red and black paint. The figures in the upper frieze tread on a black line, which is followed by a red bar, and yet another ornamented with yellow dots. Beneath the second frieze is again a red bar, and below that the black lustrous paint, with which the rest of the vase was probably covered. Three of the fragments are connected, but there are no means of determining the position of the other four. Purple is largely used not merely for garments but to relieve the monotony of black, where the naked body is represented. Thus the body of one hero, who walks with another, is totally



purple except the hair and beard; and a spot of purple and rosette of dots occur on the thighs of others.<sup>6</sup> A yellowish-white is also used, for the double flutes of a musician (though not for the *φορβεία*), for one face, for the legs of a horse, and for a peculiar object in the lower frieze. The inner drawing is, except on white, done entirely with incised lines, which render the curling contour of the long hair and the fillets, which bind the head of every figure. The presence of a flute-player suggests athletic contests, and at the extreme left of the illustration stands one of the prizes, a tripod of the usual type, ornamented with red and inscribed *λέβης*, which reminds one of the *θάκος*, *ύδρία*, *κρήνη* and *βωμός* of the François vase, or the *ἀσκάλαβος* of the oinochoe from Loutráki on the Isthmos (*Ath. Mitth.* 1879 Plate XVIII.), or the *Γοργούς κεφαλή* of another Acropolis fragment. Approaching the tripod are two nude bearded heroes, who are contrasted in colour as described above, except that the left arm of the front one is left black where it crosses the body of the other. Each carries in his left hand a couple of spears, and behind them is inscribed vertically the name *Ίφίτος*. Over the tripod is the right hand and arm of a man who is just about to throw a spear. He has no thong to give it a rotatory motion, but otherwise may be restored conjecturally in the position given in a Panathenaic vase (*J.H.S.* i. Plate VIII.). Here then was represented one of the contests of the Pentathlon.<sup>7</sup> Back to back with the first pair is another long-haired and bearded nude warrior, whose face neck and breast are rendered in purple, while the rest of his body except for the rosette on his thigh is black. He is holding a spear in both hands and faces a similar figure, who is apparently stooping and balancing a spear in both hands, preparing for the throw. Behind his shoulder is the point of another spear, and below half the letter *Μ*, all that remains of a vertically inscribed name. Facing left is a flute-player, whose face resembles the others except that it is unbearded. The lateral band of the *φορβεία* is rendered in purple, the vertical one by incised lines. Above is the retrograde inscription *Φιλονβοῦ* (*sic* !), the simplest explanation of which is that the final letter is a *nu* carelessly substituted for a *sigma*, so that the name is really *Philombos*.<sup>8</sup> With this we might compare the name of the dedicator of the Moschophoros, which is written *-ονβος*. The lower fragment shows a pair of feet emerging from beneath a chiton; these may belong to the flute-player, but on each side is a foot belonging to two other persons, whom it would be difficult to fit into the available space. The elongated foot to right is perhaps that of a wrestler, or it might belong to a man preparing to throw the diskos (as in Gerh. *A.V.* iv. 270). Behind the flute-player (again vertically written) we read *ΚΑΠ* with an

<sup>6</sup> This is not intended to represent tattooing but merely decorative. Compare as an extreme instance of this the Ares on the vase of Cholechos.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the Pentathlon see Prof. Gardner's paper in the *Hellenic Journal*, *ad loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> I do not think it possible that the name is really *Φιλόνεως*, a known Attic name (that of the archon for 527 B.C., as the *Constitution of Athens* tells us), as *ΔΒΕΤΣ* (*Mon.* ix. 55) hardly justifies the assumption of a confusion between Attic and Corinthian epsilon here. The name can hardly be *Φιλόμβος*.



additional stroke, which probably belongs to an  $\Lambda$  or  $\rho$ . Behind again are the heads of two bearded and draped figures to left, who would seem to be judges not competitors; one holds a staff and the other holds up his hand as if in astonishment. They seem to be watching some event, perhaps a wrestling match going on before them. Behind the second we read  $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\alpha[\varsigma]$ . Somewhere near this fragment we may place the one figured to the extreme right, in Plate XII., which contains two very similar heads and a portion of a third. The middle one of the three carries a staff, and above is inscribed  $\Phi\acute{o}\rho[\beta\alpha\varsigma]$  (?). Of the upper frieze there remains only the fragment published by Benndorf, showing a procession to left in the style of the François vase, two or three walking abreast. Of those in front little is left but the heads of the spears they carry, and the three that follow also bear spears. These spear-heads are longer than the others and show the fitting into the shaft; they would seem therefore to be ordinary war-spears, and not the  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{o}\nu\tau\iota\alpha$  used for throwing in the Pentathlon. In front of them we read  $\Lambda\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  and behind is an  $\alpha$  and a trace of another letter, it is uncertain what.

In the lower frieze there was apparently a race or procession of pairs of horses, the outside one ridden by a helmeted warrior carrying two spears, the inside one by a beardless youth. We frequently see on early vases the riders of  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , and also men riding one horse and leading a second, e.g. the warriors covered by their shields, who appear on 'vasi-a-colonnette.'<sup>9</sup> Here these two types seem to be combined. Between the two pairs of riders is an object painted white. Its outline is not that of the back of a horse, nor could either of the two persons in front be riding on it, if it were. There is also a pointed object on the surface, which it is difficult to account for. Is this a  $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$  or something of the kind, which the riders are passing? On the last fragment are the hind-legs of a pair of horses, differentiated by the colouring white and black and (apparently) the tips of three out of four hoofs of the horses immediately following. The two lines running down into the legs must be the shafts of spears, and, if so, the fragment is part of the same procession rather than part of a chariot-race.

We now turn to see what information the inscriptions can afford us, setting aside the peculiar name Philombos (?), which may be intended for the flute-player. The name of Asterion, an Argonaut, suggests the funeral-games of Pelias, and takes us to the description of that mythic event as represented on the Chest of Kypselos, and to its best-known vase representation, viz. the Amphiaraios vase of Berlin (*Mon.* x. 4—5, *Wiener V.B.* 1889 Plate X.). 'Heracles is sitting on a throne,' says Pausanias, 'and there is a female flute-player. Pisos, Asterion, Polydeukes, Admetos and Euphemos are engaged in the race of bigae' (the Amphiaraios vase shows Kastor, Euphemos and Admetos as three of the six competitors in a quadriga race): 'Admetos and Mopsos are boxing, and a man  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}, \kappa\alpha\theta\acute{o}\tau\iota \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\phi' \eta\mu\acute{o}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \tau\acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\iota \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \pi\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\omega\nu \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ . Iason and Peleus are wrestling' (in the Amphiaraios vase Peleus and Hippaichmos):

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Mon. dell' Inst.* 1855, pl. 20.



'Eurybotas is throwing the diskos. The competitors in the foot-race are Meilanion, Neotheus, Phalareus, Argeios and Iphiklos; the latter receives the prize from Akastos. Tripods are placed as prizes for the victors.' Unless Iphiklos is a mistake for Iphitos, which is unlikely, Asterion alone is common to our vase and the Chest. But Phorbas (if the probability of that restoration be allowed) and Periphas were sons of Lapithes and therefore appropriate participants in a Thessalian Agon, and moreover Phorbas, who banished snakes from the island of Rhodes, was famed in myth as a boxer. The initial letter M, mentioned above, may be regarded as the beginning of the name Mopsos. Iphitos, son of Naubolos from Phokis, was also an Argonaut. If the figure between the two warriors in the procession is that of a woman, as the drawing of the eye suggests, and if it is not a mere variation of colours, as two horses are drawn of different colours, then who so appropriate here as Atalanta, who according to the common version of the story wrestled with Peleus at these games?<sup>10</sup> Though she herself is not represented on the Chest, Meilanion is at any rate present. Finally we have the letters *Kα-* to complete. No names seem to be available but Kapetos, Kapros and Kapaneus. Kapetos was one of the suitors slain by Oinomaos, and hardly seems likely. There was a historical athlete Kapros, but his date was 215 B.C. It may seem inappropriate to have the presumptuous Argive chieftain, who figures in Theban legend, brought in here, but I can suggest nothing better, and at any rate the painter of the Amphiaraios vase makes Amphiaraios one of the competitors in the chariot-race. This may only be due to carelessness or it may point to a popular mixture of Theban and Thessalian legends. Enough has been said, I think, to justify one in associating our vase with the representations of the funeral-games of Pelias. But another question may now be propounded. Did not the early vase-painter or decorator regard this myth merely as a framework, the substance of which was filled up by the Olympic Games of his own day? Was there not here a sort of 'contaminatio' between myth and actuality? I believe this to have been the case with the craftsman who wrought the scene on the Chest of Kypselos. In the first place Herakles, the reputed founder of the Olympic Games, is presiding over the whole, and secondly Pisos son of Perieres, eponymous hero and oekist of Pisa (Paus. vi. 22, 2) is present, and that fact alone must have made the ordinary spectator think of the contest as taking place on the banks of the Kladeos rather than in far-away Iolkos. The Pentathlon too was obviously in the mind of the designer, when he represented three of its five contests, and on our vase probably wrestling and diskos-throwing were represented as well as spear-throwing. Nor can it be doubted that the fame of the Phokian Argonaut was quite overshadowed by that of the great king of Elis of the same name, who set the festival on a firmer basis and obtained a general consent to the sacred truce. Thus we should expect a mixture of the mythical and the real in these

<sup>10</sup> As the second letter can hardly be a *τ*, the restoration *Α[ταλάστη]* seems inadmissible. Perhaps *Α[καστος]*.



scenes, and thus the associations roused in our minds by the sight of the name Iphitos are perhaps not altogether out of place.

With respect to the inscriptions, the lettering is that of the Old Attic alphabet, except that the four-stroke *sigma* is used. Similarly in the great amphora found in the Piraeus St. at Athens (*Ant. Denkm.* Plate 57) we find the four-stroke *sigma* in the name of Herakles, the three-stroke *sigma* in that of Nessos, which in true Attic form appears as Νέρος. Sophilos uses the three-stroke *sigma*, but reverses it. Perhaps the four-stroke *sigma*, the Corinthian form written another way up, was more extensively used than we are aware of in early Attic inscriptions. It need not necessarily indicate Ionic influence.

It only remains to say a few words as to style. Plate XII. Fig. 2 is a type of the developed Attic b.f. style current in the latter half of the sixth century. The kylix Plate XI. is perhaps as fine an instance as we have of early Attic vase-painting. Its author was a better artist than Sophilos and his work seems to have been to him a labour of love. Plate XII. Fig. 1 is on the same stylistic level with the vase of Sophilos, and shows to my mind the strong influence exercised by Corinth on early Attic work. Loeschke long ago (*A. Z.* 1876, p. 108) suggested the likelihood that Athenian vase-painters worked from Corinthian patterns. To that view I adhere and believe that the painter of this vase was at any rate strongly under Corinthian influence. It is true that Corinth gave rise to no school of the great art of sculpture, but her influence in the more industrial fields of art in the sixth and even seventh centuries can hardly be exaggerated, and she has justly been called 'the Sidon of Hellas.' Let us take the points of contact between the Amphiaraos vase and our fragments: (1) the pattern alluded to above; (2) the heads are drawn in the same manner, and one notes the stereotyped hair-band and hair outline and the identical rendering of the eye; (3) the principle of variety produced by a change of colour is strongly exemplified in both, cf. with the horses' legs on our fragment the quadriga of Amphiaraos in his Departure-scene, or the biga on the vase from Loutráki; (4) the corresponding use of the incised line with black and the dark line of paint for the border of white; (5) on the lower frieze of our fragments occurs a flying bird exactly similar to those which fill the spaces between the horsemen on the Amphiaraos vase. These resemblances seem to be sufficient to bear out the above contention. Brunn refused to allow the genuineness of the Amphiaraos vase<sup>11</sup> as an archaic work, but his view in this respect has been generally rejected, and, since the discovery of the Corinthian votive pinakes, which show points of resemblance in style with our fragments, the archaistic hypothesis with reference to vases that bear Corinthian inscriptions

<sup>11</sup> In the continuation of his *Probleme* 926, Brunn complains that Robert rejects the probable conjecture of Boeckh on Paus. v. 9, 5, of ἐρενηκοστή for εἰκοστή, because it will not fit the accepted vase-chronology. That difficulty

must however be faced. If Boeckh is right, the archaism of the Amphiaraos vase is suspicious. If however other evidence seems to show the vase to be archaic, then the emendation loses its probability.



has lost all probability. The heads on the top of the handles of Caere 'vasi-a-colonnnette' are enlarged specimens of the heads on the pinakes of Penteskuphia. My conviction is that future researches and discoveries will only make us assign a more important place than before to Corinth in the early history of Greek ceramography, and will in particular bring out more clearly the strong influence exercised by Corinthian art on the growing settlement of potters in the Athenian Kerameikos during the sixth century.

G. C. RICHARDS.



## ON WAXEN TABLETS WITH FABLES OF BABRIUS (TABULAE CERATAE ASSENDELFTIANAE).

[PLATES XIII.—XIX.]

SOME six months ago Mr. A. D. van Assendelft de Coningh presented the Leiden library with a set of seven waxen tablets, forming a small book. They were acquired at Palmyra in 1881 by his brother, Mr. H. van Assendelft de Coningh, officer in the Royal Dutch Navy. Mr. H. van Assendelft de Coningh died soon after his return to his country; we know, however, that the tablets were found at Palmyra from a fragment of a letter which he wrote some days before his death. It runs as follows: 'During my brief visit to Palmyra I acquired these wooden tablets.' The tablets came into the possession of Mr. A. D. van Assendelft de Coningh and were put aside with other souvenirs of his brother's travels. They happened to be shown to me and I easily saw that they contained Greek writing. The tablets were then presented to the Leiden library, the principal librarian of which, Dr. W. N. du Rieu, gave them the name of *Tabulae ceratae graecae Assendelftianae*, in honour of the generous giver and his deceased brother.

The seven tablets are covered with writing on both sides, except the first one, of which the recto-side is plain wood. Of the others the wooden surface is sunk to a slight depth, leaving a raised frame at the edges; they are of beech-wood,<sup>1</sup> like most waxen tablets preserved in the British Museum. The wood is coated with wax of a very dark colour, probably due to pitch being added to the wax in order to prevent melting and to make the writing clearly visible. They measure 14·5 by 12 cm. (5·7 by 4·7 inches). The plates appended to this article will supersede a more detailed description; they are very successful and in most cases they are legible to the same degree as the original. Only where the coating of wax has perished, the sharp stilus sometimes has marked through on to the wood behind the wax, so that on the original some letters are still visible.

The tablets, as they arrived at the Leiden library, were bound together with common string, which could lay no claim whatever to antiquity; it was quite obvious that they were put together without any order. A minute

<sup>1</sup> Blümner (*Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig 1875—1886, ii. 245 and iv. 556) does

not cite beech-wood as a material out of which writing-tablets were made.



examination of the way in which the text went on showed that II., III., IV. formed a series and V., VI., VII. another. Moreover it seemed highly probable that VII. verso formed one of the covers of the book, as the waxen coating of this tablet is levelled to the surface of the frame and the frame itself severely damaged. The other cover was I. recto. It is however to be noticed that, if we thus have restored the right order of succession, the writing of VII. verso stands upside down.

The contents of the tablets are :—

I. verso. Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 347.

II. recto. Τῖδς καὶ λέων γεγραμμένος (Babrius<sup>2</sup> *fragm.* 138, Knoell<sup>3</sup> 135, Coray<sup>4</sup> n. 264 and p. 393, Furia<sup>5</sup> 187, Halm<sup>6</sup> 349, Gitlbauer<sup>7</sup> 142).

II. verso. Τῖδς καὶ λέων γεγραμμένος (*continued*). Κολοῖδς ἀετὸν μιμούμενος (Knoell 110, Coray n. 203 and p. 370, Furia 3, Gitlbauer 156). Κόραξ νοσῶν (Babrius 78, Knoell 63, Coray n. 132 and p. 334, Furia 87, Halm 208).

III. recto. Κόραξ νοσῶν.

III. verso. Λέων καὶ ταῦρος (Babrius 97, Coray n. 227 and p. 377, Furia 92, Halm 262).

IV. recto. Πέρδιξ καὶ γεωργός (Knoell 122, Coray n. 164 and p. 353, Furia 172, Halm 356, Gitlbauer 163).

IV. verso. Δηχθεῖς ὑπὸ μύρμηκος καὶ Ἑρμῆς (Babrius 117, Knoell 95, Coray n. 364 and p. 410, Furia 363, Halm 118). Ταῦρος καὶ τράγος (Babrius 91, Knoell 72, Coray n. 277, 382, Furia 181, Halm 396).

V. recto. Ταῦρος καὶ τράγος (*continued*). Λέων καὶ ἀλώπηξ (Babrius 103, Knoell 73, Coray n. 187 and p. 336, Furia 91, Halm 246, Pseudodositheus<sup>7\*</sup> p. 42, 99).

V. verso. Λέων καὶ ἀλώπηξ (*continued*). Λέων καὶ μῦς (Babrius 107, Knoell 77, Coray n. 217 and p. 373, Furia 98, Halm 256, Pseudodositheus p. 40, 96).

VI. recto. Λέων καὶ μῦς (*continued*). Γεωργός καὶ ὄφης (Knoell 42, Coray n. 170 and p. 357, Furia 130, Halm 97, Gitlbauer 147, 215).

VI. verso. Ὄρος καὶ λεοντῇ (Knoell 99, Coray n. 258, Furia 141, Halm 333, Gitlbauer 218). Ἐλαφος καὶ λέων (Babrius 43, Knoell 34, Coray n. 181 and p. 365, Furia 66, 209, Halm 128, Gitlbauer 43, Pseudodositheus p. 40, 95).

<sup>2</sup> *Babrii Fabulae*, ex recensione A. Eberhard, Berlin, 1875. In the following pages this edition is referred to, when no name of editor is cited.

<sup>3</sup> *Fabularum Babrianarum paraphrasis Bodleiana*, ed. Pius Knoell, Vienna, 1877.

<sup>4</sup> *Μέθων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγή (Parerga Biblioth. Hellen.)*, ed. Coray, Paris, 1810.

<sup>5</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae*, ed. F. de Furia, Leipzig, 1810.

<sup>6</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, ex recognitione C. Halm, Leipzig, 1859.

<sup>7</sup> *Babrii Fabulae*, recensuit M. Gitlbauer, Vienna, 1882. Gitlbauer's edition is only cited in those cases where he has tried to give a restitution of Babrian fables not found in our manuscripts.

<sup>7\*</sup> *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana (Corpus glossariorum Latinorum iii)*, Leipzig, 1892).



VII. recto. Ἐλαφος καὶ λέων (*continued*). Ὅρνις χρυστοτόκος (Babrius *fragm.* 123, Knoell 112, Coray n. 136 and p. 335, Furia 153, Halm 343, Gitlbauer 123). Ὅρνις καὶ αἰλουρος (Knoell 111, Coray n. 152 and p. 347, Furia 14, Halm 16, Gitlbauer 121).

VII. verso. Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 347.

It will be remarked that the order in which the fables are placed is not κατὰ στοιχείον, as in our manuscripts. Although I agree with those scholars who believe the alphabetical order to be the work of a Byzantine scribe, it would be rash to allege the testimony of the tablets, the work of a schoolboy, to support that hypothesis.—Of these fables nine are in choliambics, the three others (the lion and the mouse, the lion and the fox, the man and the viper) in prose.

As to the general character of the text, it is easy to see that it is very corrupt and full of errors, additions and omissions. This condition of the text will not surprise us, if it is borne in mind that this waxen book was a schoolboy's copy-book. That it was such evidently results from what we know about the use of waxed tablets, alike from the testimonies of ancient authors and from the waxen tablets which have survived to the present day. Concerning the employment of waxen tablets in schools, it will suffice to refer the reader to Wattenbach's *Schriftwesen* (p. 74 of the second edition), and Becker-Göll's *Charikles* (ii., p. 66), where he will find an ample discussion of the question and a copious list of authorities. To the testimonies cited by these authors we now may add the following lines from Herodas (iii. 14 ff. cf. 22—30) :—

Κῆ μὲν τάλαινα δέλτος, ἣν ἐγὼ κάμνω  
κηροῦς' ἐκάστου μηνός, ὀρφανὴ κεῖται  
πρὸ τῆς χαμεύνης τοῦ ἐπὶ τοίχον ἐρμῖνος,  
κῆν μήκοτ' αὐτὴν οἶον Ἀίδην βλέψας,  
γράψῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν, ἐκ δ' ὅλην ξύσῃ.

We know that Lucian when a boy made no better use of his waxen tablets. In his autobiography he tells us: ὁπότε...ἀφεθείην ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων ἀποξέων ἂν τὸν κηρὸν ἢ βόας ἢ ἵππους ἢ καὶ νῆ Δι' ἀνθρώπους ἀρέπλῃσιν (*Somnium* 2). Waxen tablets with school exercises in the British Museum are mentioned by Mr. Thompson in his *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (London, 1893, p. 23 ff.) and a charming illustration of the way in which they were used is seen on a Berlin cup, the work of the famous Duris. The schoolmaster or his assistant is represented correcting the writing exercise and the boy stands before him expecting his verdict.<sup>8</sup> A text to this scene is found in an author of a much later date, in Pseudodositheus' *Hermeneumata*, where many interesting details concerning ancient school life may be gathered, which would deserve a special treatment, e.g.: ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὴν σχολήν. εἰσηλθὼν...ἐπιδίδωσί μοι ὁ παῖς ὁ ἐμὸς καμπτροφόρος

<sup>8</sup> *Archäol. Zeitung* 31 (1874), p. 1 ff. and Plate I.



(*puer scriiniarius*) πινακίδας, θήκην γραφείων, παραγραφίδα (*praeductorium*, probably a ruler, not a stilus for drawing lines as is the explanation given by most dictionaries). τῷ ἐμῷ τόπῳ καθήμενος λεαίνω παραγράφω πρὸς τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν γράψας δὲ δεικνύω τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ἐδιώρθωσε, ἐχάραξε· κελεύει με ἀναγινώσκειν etc., etc. (*Corpus Gloss. Lat.* iii. p. 646, cf. pp. 225, 377).

There is a perfect harmony between the use of the tablets in the school and the text found on them. Mr. Rutherford, in the excellent introduction to his edition of Babrius, has pointed out that Babrius was a favourite school author, nay, that he probably wrote his fables 'for the use of schools and colleges,' where Aesopic fables were used as a *progymnasma* for rhetorical training. Crusius<sup>9</sup> supposes that the fables of Babrius are a verse translation of Nicostratus' δεκαμυθία.

There are still other peculiarities which prove the tablets to be a schoolboy's book; such are the repetition in cursive of a fable (III. recto) and of an epimythium (VI. verso); hence too the verse of Hesiod on the inner sides of the covers, which probably was set down as a writing exercise (*ὑπογραμμός*). It may be compared to the verses in the style of Menander found on a set of tablets now preserved at New York,<sup>10</sup> or to the following lines which are read three times on a waxen tablet lately acquired by the British Museum (Add. 34186):<sup>11</sup>

σοφοῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς προσδέχου συμβουλίαν.  
μὴ πᾶσιν εἰκῇ τοῖς φίλοις πιστεύεται.

In discussing the date of the tablets we have first to examine their palaeographical characteristics. Most of the tablets are written in that kind of uncial writing which Thompson calls the literary or book-hand;<sup>12</sup> on III. one fable and part of another is written in cursive; there are also specimens of cursive on VI. verso and V. verso. This book-hand, however, is strongly influenced by the cursive, as is the case, though in a smaller degree, with the writing of a document lately discovered in the Fayoum, the writer of which, 'as if more accustomed to write a cursive hand, mingles certain cursive letters in his text.'<sup>13</sup> Perhaps in our case a special reason may be given to account for this peculiarity: it seems from some characteristics of the writing, which will be discussed below, that our tablets were copied from an original in cursive. The cursive writing on the tablets belongs manifestly to that period of Greek cursive writing, called by Wilcken<sup>14</sup> the Roman period. A closer examination of some of the more frequent letters may perhaps help

<sup>9</sup> Crusius, *de Babrii aetate*, p. 223 in *Leipziger Studien* 2 (1879).

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings of the American Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, iii. p. 371.

<sup>11</sup> On a waxen tablet preserved at the Bodleian library (*Gr. Inscr.* 4) we find: θεοὶ οὐδ' ἄνθρωποι· Ὀμηροί.

<sup>12</sup> Thompson (*Handbook*, etc.) p. 118 ff.;

Mahaffy, *On the Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Dublin, 1891, p. 31; Wilcken, *Tafeln zur älteren griechischen Palaeographie*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1891, p. Vb.

<sup>13</sup> Thompson, p. 126, where a facsimile of some lines is given.

<sup>14</sup> Wilcken, *Tafeln*, etc., VIa.



us to a more definite date. I begin with III. (cursive). On III. recto *alpha* has an ordinary cursive form, but on the verso side, the writing of which is more negligent, the letters being frequently joined, *alpha* is much more open and takes a form near to the *u*-like shape,<sup>15</sup> without however assuming it exactly. *Epsilon* has the uncial shape, only in ligature with *iota* it has the more negligent form. *Eta* (III. recto ἐσκληθη, μητερ; III. verso προσποιηθεις) presents an intermediate form between the uncial *eta* and the *h*-shaped *eta* of the Byzantine period. In ligature (III. recto μητρι) it has already the late form with long limb.<sup>16</sup> *Lambda* never descends below the line, *nu* has a very regular uncial shape, in των (III. verso) it has the form of a capital *eta*. *Xi* ends in a horizontal stroke (III. recto κοραξ), but in ligature it degenerates into a mere flourish (III. verso ηξειν). *Omikron* is generally much smaller than the other letters, although the difference is not so striking as in the tablets with book-hand writing. *Pi* does not present the loose, *w*-like form of col. 8—11 of Thompson's *Table of Alphabets*. A brief survey of the writing on the other tablets will show that the great difference which at first sight is remarked between the book-hand and the cursive consists not so much in the different forms of the single letters as in the general aspect of the whole. The letters of the book-hand writing are written on ruled lines, carefully drawn by the stylus; they stand rigidly and the scribe has endeavoured to give an equal size to them all. *Beta* is closed above and slightly opened at the bottom, sometimes it ends in a point (V. recto 1, ἐκβας; V. verso 9, βλεπειν; IV. verso 2, βυθισης). *Eta* has been alluded to above: besides the ordinary uncial shape it has a form that denotes a transition to the cursive. The different forms may be easily studied on one of the most legible tablets, V. recto, where 7—15 afford specimens of the various shapes. The forms of *xi* vary very much; specimens: IV. verso 14, νυξας; V. recto 2, εξωθει, 12, αλωπηξ; V. verso 12, εξηγειρε. *Omikron* is very small; on VII. verso it is a mere dot. It is to be noticed that very often *omikron* is written like *alpha*: II. recto 10, βουκολημα, 14, ποτε, 15, πορρω, 21, τουτω; III. verso in fine, το θυμα; IV. verso 8, ομου; V. recto 15, ηρμοσεν; V. verso 11, εφηλλατο; VII. recto 22, αποθνησκω; VII. verso 1, ποδες, 9, αιμοτε. *Alpha* written as *omikron* is found on VI. recto 22, κακους. I think this peculiarity can be best explained by supposing that the tablets were copied from an original in cursive. In cursive writing *alpha* is often hardly distinguishable from *omikron*; so that a scribe could be easily led into error. The same hypothesis may account for the fact that *omikron* is twice written instead of *ou* (VII. recto in fine, οκ αποθνησκω, V. verso 17, οκ ελλαττονος, perhaps also VII. recto 5, προδωκεν) and twice instead of *epsilon* (VII. recto 23, ειπον, VII. recto 9, ποποιθησις), the cursive forms of *ou* (with *υ* written over *ο*) and *ε* being much more liable to be confused with *omikron* than the uncial forms. The error made in I. verso = VII. verso, τειμη for τειμης, may be explained in the same way, viz. by the cursive ligature of *ης*; this often

<sup>15</sup> Thompson, p. 149, *Table of Alphabets*, col. 8—11.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, p. 149, *Table of Alphabets*, col. 9 and 10.



appears on II. recto where cursive forms are most frequent: II. recto 2, *πρεσβυτης*, 23, *εισδυσης*. *Sigma* has a very long horizontal dash, that sometimes occupies the space of several letters (IV. verso 12).

From this rapid review it may be gathered that there occur on the tablets no forms of letters which would force us to give them a later date than A.D. 300. A minute study of the general character of the writing compared to that of papyrus writing and to the writing on the waxen tablets which I saw this summer at the British Museum makes me suppose that our tablets belong to the third century of our era.

The faults in orthography and in language cannot be of much use in assigning a date to the tablets. The most frequent orthographical fault in our text is confusion between *αι* and *ε*. Examples: *γεινητε* II. recto 5, *ελευκενε* II. recto 12, *γραφες* II. recto 13, *κε* II. recto 13, *κλεουση* II. verso 15, *αποδουνε* VI. recto 8, *κερδενειν* VII. recto 17, *ελουρος* VII. recto 19, *αινιοτε* VII. recto 9, *αισθλον* I. verso 4, VII. verso 4, *ναιως* IV. verso 1. We know that in inscriptions this fault is of frequent occurrence from the end of the first century of our era downwards (Meisterhans, *Gramm. der att. Inschr.* p. 26). *Iota* when long is regularly written *ει*. Examples: *τειμη* I. recto 2, VII. verso 2, *εμειμουμην* II. verso 13, *κρεινειν* IV. verso 4, VI. verso 20, VII. recto 7, *υπεισχειρο*, V. verso 18, *ωδενειν* VII. recto 3. We know that this was done according to a school precept,<sup>17</sup> dating from a time when *ει* and *ι* were identical in pronunciation. It was a dead rule, the difference between *ι* and *ῑ* no longer existing; accordingly our schoolboy sometimes transgresses the law and writes *μητρει* (III. verso 2). In *σκεπτων* for *σκιρτων* (VI. verso 4) we have a very early example of the modern Greek law that unaccented *ι* before a liquid becomes *ε*.<sup>18</sup> Twice, perhaps three times, there is confusion of *η* with *υ* and *οι*: *ημων* for *υμων* (IV. verso 15).<sup>19</sup> *φημης* for *ποιμνης* (II. verso 7), and *ισχυοις* (?) for *ισχιόις* (VI. verso 1). It is known that in inscriptions of Greece proper no instances of a confusion of this kind are found before the ninth century of our era, whereas *υ* and *οι* are often confounded with each other.<sup>20</sup> We must, however, not attach too much importance to these errors, which stand by themselves; these two or three words wrongly written, when compared with the numerous words in which *υ* is written correctly (there are more than fifty of such words in our text), have little demonstrative force. Moreover the spelling of *φημης* gives an argument for the earlier date of the text, for *φ* written instead of

<sup>17</sup> This rule is stated by Quintilian (i. 7, 15). See Sophocles, *History of the Greek Alphabet and Pronunciation*, Cambridge U.S., 1854, p. 63, and Blass, *Palaeographie*, p. 315 (*Jean Maller's Handbuch*, i., second edition).

<sup>18</sup> Hatzidakis, *Einführung in die neuogr. Gramm.*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 333, Wilhelm Meyer, *Simon Portius Gramm. ling. gr. vulg.*, Paris, 1889, p. 81. Meyer cites as the first example of this law *χεπί*, *χερός* in a papyrus of 160 A.C., but it is conceivable that the form

owes its existence to the analogy of *χερσίν*. All other examples cited by Hatzidakis and Meyer are of a much later date.

<sup>19</sup> In most manuscripts *ημεις*, *ημων*, *ημās* is often written instead of *υμεις*, *υμων*, *υμās*, but the contrary is rare. I have tried to explain this in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i. (1891), p. 382 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Foy, *Griechische Vocabelstudien*, p. 57 (*Bezenberger's Beiträge*, 12, 1887).



π carries us back to a period in which φ was not a spirant but an aspirate. It would be rash to draw conclusions from a single writing like this, especially as the tablets come from a region where Aramaic was doubtless more spoken than Greek, and are written by a boy to whom Greek was probably not his mother tongue. Faults like ὄριξ (VII. recto 18 and 21), and κτείνει for ἀποθνήσκει (II. verso 12), εἶπον for εἶπε (III. verso 14, VII. recto 23), seem to confirm this supposition. Some peculiarities of morphology and syntax are treated in the notes; they are of no value for determining the date of the tablets.<sup>21</sup>

Palmyra was destroyed in 272 or 273 A.D.<sup>22</sup> Was it sacked completely and for all time, or was it partly restored? Prof. Mommsen says: 'Dem kurzen Aufleuchten Palmyras und seiner Fürsten folgte unmittelbar die Oede und Stille, die seither bis auf den heutigen Tag über dem kümmerlichen Wüstendorf und seinen Colonnadenruinen lagert.'<sup>23</sup> It seems however, that the eminent historian in speaking so absolutely has indulged his talent for making fine periods. For we are informed that Diocletian founded a military station at Palmyra and that Justinian furnished the place with an aqueduct and built the wall of which ruins are still visible;<sup>24</sup> we read that Palmyra was a bishopric and that about 400 A.D. it was the station of the first Illyrian legion. In later days it was a Moslem fortress and received a considerable Arab colony; it sent a thousand horsemen to aid the revolt of Emesa. The town was still a wealthy place, with considerable trade as late as the 14th century.<sup>25</sup> We shall leave the question of the revival of Palmyra under Moslem sway undiscussed, but it is worth while to examine the testimonies concerning the rebuilding of Palmyra under Diocletian and Justinian. Probably these emperors had only a military interest in partly restoring the town. We may gather from Procopius<sup>26</sup> that it was deemed important to have a strong post on the disputed marches of the Arabs of Hira and Ghasan. As to Palmyra being a bishopric under the Christian Empire, we have no proof that a bishop actually resided in the town.<sup>27</sup> Mommsen has pointed out that on the site

<sup>21</sup> Other faults of orthography are: α for αι, ελαε (II. verso 15); η for ι, τη (II. recto 10), ηκεθ (IV. verso 10); ι for ει, λεοτταίς (III. verso 7), στραφίς (III. verso 11), πεποιθησις (VII. recto 9), επι (V. recto 3); ι for αι, ἐρημίαν (IV. verso 18); ω for ο, σκαλωφ (II. recto 21); σ for ζ, συγκλεισων (II. recto 10), ο for αι, ου (VII. recto 21); β for π, βρεσβας (II. verso 1). Often a letter is wrongly doubled: αρρεζιν (II. verso 6), συσσεχεθείς (V. recto 7), εφηλλατο (V. verso 11), ελλαττονα (V. verso 17), δειειζας (II. recto 17). Ny instead of γγ, etc. often occurs: συγγωμην (V. verso 15), σπηλυγα (IV. verso 18), ἀρχινοιας (V. recto 13); in the same way we find: ἐνβεθηκοτος (IV. verso 4), συνπλακεις (VII. recto 4). The boy, aspiring at etymological orthography, even writes ορμασι

(II. recto 16)!—There is no punctuation in our text. Iota subscriptum is never found.

<sup>22</sup> Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 441 note.

<sup>23</sup> Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 441.

<sup>24</sup> Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Berlin 1883, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup> I am indebted for these details to Prof. W. Robertson Smith's masterly article on Palmyra in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where authorities are cited.

<sup>26</sup> Procopius, *de aedif.* ii. 11 (p. 243 ed. Bonn) and v. 1 (p. 309 ed. Bonn). Robertson Smith, *l. l.*

<sup>27</sup> Le Quien (*Oriens Christianus*, Paris 1740, ii. p. 846) gives the names of three bishops: Marinus 325, Joannes I. 451, Joannes II. 518. They are taken from the *Acta Conciliorum*.



of Palmyra no inscriptions have been found younger than 271.<sup>28</sup> This is, indeed, a very strong argument in favour of the supposition that Palmyra was only rebuilt as a fortress and that, after the sack of the town, Greek civilization disappeared from the site of Zenobia's splendid reign. So in dating the tablets we may assume the year 273 as a final limit.

After Crusius' careful and acute examination of the time in which Babrius lived,<sup>29</sup> we may take it for granted that the poet lived in the first half of the third century of our era.

So, if we are right in our conclusions, we have on the tablets a text of Babrius which dates from a time very near to the period of the author's life. That, nevertheless, the text is so corrupt may be explained by the use made of Babrius as a school author. Here we may refer to the excellent remarks which Rutherford has made on the *περὶ λόγια* and *ἐπικαττύματα* which disfigure our text of Babrius.<sup>30</sup> Our tablets, however, although equalling the manuscripts in corruptness, present many traces of better readings, which make it probable that the schoolboy, knowing little Greek, has disfigured a text which in many respects was superior to that of the Athoan or the Vatican codex. Of these primitive readings *νύξας* (IV. verso 14), *ἐκβάς* (IV. verso 22), and the absence of a suspect verse in the 7th Fable, furnish excellent examples which may be considered as real corrections of the text. On the other hand, there already occur on our tablets faults in Greek and in metre which are commonly ascribed to the much-abused Byzantine *magistri* or *magistelli*,<sup>31</sup> who are supposed to be accountable for the pitiful state in which Babrius' text has been handed down to us. There are but two lines on our tablets which are also found in Suidas: 1 Fable 9 and 10 = Suidas *sub βονκολήσας*; in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*sub πεπρωμένον*) the epimythium of the first fable is preserved in a better state. The more primitive character of the text of our tablets is best seen in IV. verso, in the fable of Hermes, the shipwrecked man, and the ants. It is the only fable which is common to the Athoan, the Vatican, and the tablets. The Bodleian paraphrase, which sometimes agrees with the tablets in leaving out spurious or suspect verses (cf. Fab. 3, 4, 7), in this case accords with the manuscripts.

For the obscure and intricate question of the origin and affinity of the prose versions of the Aesopic fables,<sup>32</sup> the texts here published are not with-

<sup>28</sup> Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* p. 441 note. Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* iii. p. 592—611; *C. I. G.* 440; de Vogüé, *Inscript. Sémitiques*, Paris 1868, n. 116.

<sup>29</sup> Crusius (*de Babrii aetate*) sees in the βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος of the second proem Alexander Severus. K. J. Neumann (*Rhein. Museum* 35 (1886) p. 301 ff.), although agreeing with Crusius in the date he assigns to Babrius, believes that the allusion is to Caracalla, who liked to be compared to Achilles and Alexander. Accordingly Babrius dedicated his work to Elagabalus, who after Caracalla's death passed for his son. It seems that Crusius has adopted

Neumann's views (*Philol. Anzeiger* 14 (1884), p. 176). Werner, the latest author on the subject, assumes that Babrius lived in Egypt in the 1st century, but his arguments are exceedingly weak (*Quaestiones Babrianas*, Berlin, 1891, p. 22, 24).

<sup>30</sup> Rutherford, *Babrius* (London, 1883), lxxxvi.—xc.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Bergk in *Philol.* 47 (1889), p. 386.

<sup>32</sup> A clear survey of the various prose versions is given by Fedde (*Ueber eine noch nicht edirte Sammlung äsopischer Fabeln*, Progr. Gymn. zu St. Elisabeth, Breslau 1877, p. 1—3); Pius Knoll (*Die babrianischen Fabeln des cod.*



out importance. If we are right in assigning so early a date to the tablets, the supposition that all prose versions are based on the text of Babrius is considerably weakened.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, it is difficult to believe that some fifty years after the author's death paraphrases circulated which differed so much from Babrius' text as is the case with our fables of the lion and the mouse and the lion and the fox. As Babrius edited Aesopic fables in choliambics,<sup>34</sup> others composed editions in prose; the number of such editions may have been very large, and it is not to be wondered at that we find traces of such prose versions along with the more artistic and elaborate text of Babrius. We have in the Vatican codex<sup>35</sup> another example of a collection of Aesopic fables in which verse fables are found together with prose versions. It should also be noticed that for schoolboys or scribes who had to copy Babrian fables, or to write them down from memory, it was tempting, where memory or inadequate copies failed, to fill up the lacunae with fragments of a better known prose version or with a translation of the text made on purpose. Thus we may account for many metrical corruptions of our text.

*Versus Politici*, properly speaking, are not found in these fables.<sup>36</sup> It is true that in late and Byzantine Greek verses are found where, the last foot of the verse excepted, neither accent nor quantity is observed and only the syllables are counted;<sup>36</sup> but where no more of such lines are found together than is the case here, it is difficult to say whether the number of the syllables is accidental or not. In those cases where we find a verse of twelve syllables instead of Babrius' choliambics, it is probable that the schoolboy, who evidently knew very little about prosody, contented himself with observing two rules which seemed essential to him: the number of the syllables and the spondee at the end of the verse. Perhaps the infinitive *ᾠδίζειν* in the 13th fable is due to this practice. Verses of this kind are: *οὐκ ἦν ὁμοιον τὸ θῦμα τοῦ μαγείρου* (4th fable) and *πολὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκειθ' ἔσμὸς μυρμήκων*. They resemble the political seasons of which Eberhard<sup>37</sup> speaks.

Five of the fables here published have epimythia (1, 8, 9, 10, 12). This proves that these supplements are older than is generally believed, but it does not prove at all that they belonged to the primitive text of Babrius. Schoolmasters often feel it their duty to give moral lessons where they are neither needed nor desired, and there is no reason why we should not suppose

Bodleianus 2906, *Jahresb. über das Gymn. der inneren Stadt*, Vienna 1876) has carefully examined the Bodleian paraphrase.

<sup>33</sup> Such was the opinion of Tyrwhitt, Bernhardt, Knoch, etc. (Fedde, *l. l.* p. 15). We must make an exception, however, of the Bodleian paraphrases which closely follow Babrius (Knoell, *Die babr. Fabeln*, etc. p. 14 ff., 31 f.).

<sup>34</sup> Knoell, *Wiener Studien* 3 (1881), p. 195. Crusius, *de Babrii aetate*, p. 228.

<sup>35</sup> Knoell, *Neue Fabeln des Babrius in Sitz-*

*ungsber. der kais. Acad. zu Wien* 91 (1873), p. 663.

<sup>36</sup> Perhaps we should except the first and the last line of Fable 8: *Δίον [τις] γάρ γε συσχεθεὶς νοσέειν προσποιεῖτο... Διδόσκει ἡμᾶς δ' μῦθος τὰ μέλλοντα προβάλλει*.

<sup>37</sup> Wilhelm Meyer, *Abhandl. d. bay. Acad. de Wiss.* 1 cl. 17 (1885), p. 308, 325. Krumbacher, *Sitzungsber. d. bay. Acad. der Wiss.* 1887, p. 53 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Eberhard, *Observationes Babrianae* (Berlin, 1865), p. 12, note 2.



that, immediately after their appearance, Babrius' fables were interpolated in this way.

I give the text as I found it, only correcting the orthography and filling up the lacunae as far as it is within my power. Other conjectures or corrections find a place in the notes. I have enclosed my additions in angular brackets; redundant words are bracketed in this way: (). Lacunae are indicated by dots, but these must not be taken to indicate the number of missing letters, as the nature of the writing does not allow of determination of this.—Names without further explanations refer to editors of Babrius or of Aesopic fables and to the corresponding passages of their editions.

I. verso = VII. verso.

Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 347.

εμμορετοι  
τειμηροστεμ  
μορεγειτονος  
αισθλουλειου  
5 φαλερα ωρεωσ

Ἐμμορέ τοι τιμῆς ὅς τ' ἔμμορε γείτονος  
ἔσθλου.

[σ]φαλερά ώραίως.

This verse of Hesiod is also found in Stobaeus (*Floril.* ii. p. 30). The writing of VII. verso is cancelled. Prof. van Leeuwen, who first recognized a verse of Hesiod in the writing of these tablets, suggests that the schoolmaster has written the lines on I. verso as a writing exercise and that they are negligently copied by the schoolboy on VII. verso. It is, however, difficult to believe that the schoolmaster would have written *τειμη* instead of *τειμῆς*; moreover in the same word the writing of VII. verso presents a trace of the ligature *ης* which may have caused the fault. Probably both copies were made after an original in cursive (cf. *supra*). I am not able to explain what is written after *αἰσθλοῦ*; perhaps it is a fragment of an explanatory note. The words on the last line only occur on VII. verso. My reading is far from being certain.

Although I believe that the occurrence of this Hesiodian aphorism among Babrian fables is merely accidental, I may remind the reader that Pius Knoell (*Wiener Studien*, 3 (1881), p. 192) has asserted that Babrius in his first poem follows Hesiod. He compares Babr. *Proem* 12 and Hesiod *Oper.* 117, Babr. *Proem* 13 and Hesiod *Oper.* 120, Babr. *Proem* 4 and Hesiod *Oper.* 159; he even says: 'Anknüpfend an eine Stelle Hesiods, die dem Branchos, der vielleicht gerade Hesiod gelesen hatte, bekannt war, zählt er die 5 Zeitalter auf und schildert die Zustände des goldenen.' I frankly admit that I cannot see this pretended imitation; speculations of this kind are of small value.

II. recto.

1st Fable.—Τῖος καὶ λέων γεγραμμένος.

νιονμονογενηδειλοσειχε  
πρεσβυτησγενναιοναλλωσκαι  
θελονταθηρευειντουτονκαθυ  
πνουσσυπολεοντασσηθηθανοντα

Τῖον μονογενῆ δειλὸς εἶχε πρεσ-  
βύτης,  
γενναῖον ἄλλως καὶ θέλοντα θη-  
ρεύειν.







9, 10. Suidas (*sub βουκολήσας*): *χόπως ἔχῃ τι βουκόλημα τῆς λύπης, ἀνέθηκε τοίχοις ποικίλας γραφὰς ζώων*. In our text *ἔως* has become a final particle. Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses*, § 614. 2) cites five passages of the *Odyssey* where *ἔως* has an unusually strong final force, showing that it began the same course by which *ῥά*, *ὥς* and *ὅπως* became final particles (*Od.* 4, 799; 5, 385; 9, 375; 6, 79; 19, 367). 10. *ἐλεύκαινε*, he made bright. The word sadly disturbs the metre. The Bodleian paraphrase gives the right word: *ἐμορφώθη*. Between 11 and 12 a verse is lost. Perhaps: *ὁ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁρῶν καὶ μᾶλλον εἶχε τὴν λύπην*, for the Bodleian paraphrase has: *ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὁρῶν πλείω τὴν λύπην εἶχε*. 13. *ὦ κάκιστον θηρίον, εἶπε* (Knoell). 14. *πατρός*. Before a mute with *λ* or *ρ* Babrius sometimes leaves a syllable short, although as a rule he does not admit the *correptio Attica* (cf. Eberhard, *Observ.* p. 11 and Babrius 95, 43; 106, 3; 106, 15; 130, 13 etc.). 15. The prose versions have *ἐνεκλείσθην* (Knoell) and *κατεκλείσθην* (Coray) *φρουρᾷ*. After 15 the text, although manifestly written in choliambics (*τοίχω, τυφλώσω*), is so corrupt that I am not able to propose a plausible restoration of the verses. 22. may be restored in this way: *μέλλονθ' ὑπὸ λέοντος γεγραμμένου θνήσκειν*. Knoell has: *ὁ δὲ λέων καίπερ γραπτὸς ὦν τοῦτον ἀνιρρήκει μηδὲν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ὠφελῆθέντα σοφίσματι*. 23. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (*sub πεπρωμένον*) has preserved the epimythium in a better state: *ἃ σοι πέπρωται, ταῦτα τλήθῃ γενναίως | καὶ μὴ σοφίζου· τὸ χρεῶν γὰρ οὐ φεύξῃ*. 24. In our editions of Babrius the 2nd pers. sing. of fut. med. is written with *ῃ*. Our text however has the Attic form and we need not see an orthographical fault in this writing.

II. verso (*continued*).

οννυξιναρασαρναλιπαρον  
εκφημνηση . . . παισινδειπν  
πνοναετοσδωσειντοδαντο  
πραξεινκαικολοιοσσηθη  
10 καιδηποτεπτασαρνοσεσχεθη  
νωτοισδικηνλαγωιαρει . . . α  
ξιωσκεινωτυγαρκολοιοσων  
αετουσεμειμουμην

## 2nd Fable.—Κολοιὸς αἰτὸν μιμούμενος.

Ὀνυξιν ἄρας ἄρνα λιπαρὸν ἐκ  
ποιμνης  
ἢ[γε] παισὶν δείπνον αἰτὸς δώσειν.  
τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πράξειν καὶ κολοιὸς  
ᾤήθη.  
καὶ δὴ ποτε πτὰς ἄρνος ἐσχέθη  
νώτοις·  
5 δίκην λαγῶ αἰρεῖται . . .  
. . . . . ἀξίως κτείνω·  
τί γὰρ κολοιὸς ὦν αἰτοὺς ἐμι-  
μούμην;

2nd Fable.—Here too the Bodleian collection (Knoell 110) has an almost literal paraphrase. 2. We may restore the metre by writing *τοῖς παισὶν ἤγε. αἰτὸς* is the form which came up in the Alexandrine age for the classic *αἰετός* of the Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans, *Gramm. der Att. Inschr.* p. 25). 3. The original reading is preserved by Knoell: *ὠρμήθη*; in the same way the Bodleian paraphrase rightly gives *καταπτὰς* in the following line. Between 5 and 6 one or two lines are missing: *οἱ δὲ παῖδες τοῦτον κρατήσαντες ἤκιζον. ὁ δὲ κολοιὸς ἔφη* (Knoell). In 6 *κτείνω* is a strange



blunder for *θνήσκω*. Knoell has the last verse in its right form: *τί γὰρ κολοῖδς ὦν ἀετὸν ἐμιμούμην*, although in *ἀετὸς* alpha is always long; Babrius wrote *αιετὸς* and the diphthong could be shortened before the vowel (cf. Blass, *Ausprache des Griechischen*, p. 51, note 159 of the third edition).

II. verso (*continued*) = III. recto.

κοραξνοσησασελεγεμητρει  
15 κλεουσημηκλαεμητέραλλ...  
σθερισεινχοινηδειπετεκνονκαι...  
σετωνθεωνσωσειποιοσαγαρβω  
υποσουουκεφυληθη

3rd Fable.—Κόραξ νοσῶν.

Κόραξ νοσήσας ἔλεγε μητρὶ κλαι-  
ούσῃ·  
'μὴ κλαῖε, μήτηρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς  
εὖχου.'  
ἡ δ' εἶπε 'τέκνον (καὶ) τίς σέ τῶν  
θεῶν σώσει;  
ποῖος γὰρ βωμὸς ὑπὸ σοῦ οὐκ ἐσυ-  
λήθη;'

3rd Fable.—It appears from the order of succession of the tablets that the cursive writing on III. recto is copied from II. verso. The failing of -μος on II. verso 4 is of no importance; the copyist could easily supply the failing letters of the word. Many letters on III. recto have disappeared; as far as we can see there are no differences in the readings on the two tablets, except βω on II. verso for βωμός. The Athoan manuscript has one line more: after εὖχου we read: *νόσου με δεινῆς καὶ πόνων ἀνασφῆλαι*. This verse is not found in the Bodleian collection (Knoell 63); moreover it is confused and Babrius regularly uses *εὖχεσθαι* without an object: 10, 8; 20, 8; 63, 11; 20, 7. If the verse is spurious, as I think it is, it proves that Prof. Naber was not right when asserting that the 'poeta Athous' tried to make *τετράστιχα* (*Mnemosyne*, 4 (1876), p. 408). 1. εἶπε Athous. 3. καὶ τίς σε, φησί, τῶν θεῶν τέκνον σώσει Athous. Eberhard has first placed *τέκνον* before *φησί*. The redundant *καὶ* of our text seems to be a rest of the idiomatic *καὶ τίς σε*, preserved in the codex Athous. 4. The Athoan *τίνος γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ βωμὸς οὐκ ἐσυλήθη* corrects the metrical fault of our text; instances of confusion between *ποῖος* and *τίς* are not rare in classic Greek, in late Greek they are very frequent (Hatzidakis, *Einleitung*, p. 207).

III. verso,

λεωντισεπεβουλευεναγριω  
ταυρωκαιπροσποιηθεισημητρει  
τωνθεωνθυειντον. αερογελθειν  
επιτοδειπνονηρωτακακαινος  
5 ηξεινειπεν... υ... σασ  
... θωνδεκρισ... πιθυ...  
... οντιοισωσ...  
... λαχαλκ...  
... δεθυ. φ...

4th Fable.—Λέων καὶ ταῦρος.

Λέων τις ἐπεβούλευεν ἀγρίῳ ταύρῳ,  
καὶ προσποιηθεὶς μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν  
θύειν  
τὸν ταῦρον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον  
ἡρώτα,  
κάκεινος ἤξειν εἶπεν [οὐχ ὑποπ-  
τεύ]σας·  
5 [ἐ]λθὼν δὲ καὶ σ[τὰς ἐ]πὶ θύ[ραις  
λε]οντείους



- 10 *εναλλαδέσμων* . . . . .  
*· τραφισωχέτοενθυσεισο* . . . .  
*· ευγεινοδεμεμεφτοαυτ* .  
*νυστερονσυναντησας*  
*· · · θονειπωνκαιτοσυμ-*  
15 *· · · · νδωσωουκηνομ*  
*· · · τοθνηματουμαγε*
- ὡς [εἶδε θερμοῦ πο]λλὰ χαλκία  
[πλήρη].  
[πρὸς τῇ] (δὲ) θύ[ρα δὲ μηδ]ὲν ἀλλὰ  
δεσμώτην . . .  
στραφεῖς ὥχεται εὐθὺς εἰς ὄρος  
φεύγειν.  
ὁ δ' ἐμέμφετ' αὐτὸν ὕστερον συναν-  
τήσας  
10 [ὁ δ' ἤλ]θον, εἶπε, καὶ τὸ σύμβο-  
λον δώσω·  
οὐκ ἦν ὁμοιον τὸ θῦμα τοῦ μα-  
γε[ίρου].

4th Fable.—1. *λέων* ποτ' Athous. 2. Lachmann and most editors after him have written *τῇ θεῶν*, but A. Hecker (*Philologus*, 4 (1850), p. 495) has defended the Athoan reading, which is also that of our text. 4. *οὐχ ὑποπτεύσας* and the other bracketed words are supplied by the codex Athous. 5. *στάς* may be followed by *ἐπὶ* c. dat. as well as by *ἐν*; only it is not right to say, as does Desrousseaux, that *στάς* 'n'indique pas un mouvement.' Between 6 and 7 the Athoan manuscript has: *σφαγίδας, μαχαίρας βουδόρους νεοσμῆκτους*. 7. *ἀλλ' ἢ* Athous, corrected by Schneidewin, whose emendation is confirmed by our text. 8. *ἀλεκτορίσκον, ὥχετ'* εἰς ὄρος φεύγων Athous. In our text the verse is hopelessly corrupt. After *δεσμώτην* the name of the victim is required; we may read: *ἀλέκτορ'*. εὐθὺς ὥχετ' εἰς ὄρος φεύγων. 9. *ἐμέμφεθ'* ὁ *λέων* Athous. 11. *οὐκ ἦν ὁμοιον τὸ θῦμα τῷ μαγεῖρι* Athous. Boissonade and after him nearly all editors write *οὐκ ἦν ὁμοιον θῦμα τῷ μαγειρείῳ*. Rutherford changes 'summa cum fiducia' *οὐκ ἦν* into *ᾧμην*, but I must confess that his reading makes the passage unintelligible to me. The meaning of the verse is clearly expressed in one of the paraphrases (Coray, p. 377), *ὁρῶ γὰρ κατασκευὴν οὐχ ὡς εἰς πρόβατον* (here 'as for a cock') *ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς ταῦρον ἡτοιμασμένην*. Perhaps: *ἀνόμοιον ἦν τὸ θῦμα τῷ μαγειρείῳ*.

## IV. recto.

- πέρδικατισγεωργοσον*  
*τεβηρευκειθυεινεμελλεν*  
*εσπέρας . . . δειπνησωντον*  
*δικετευετ* . . . . . *ποιη* . . .  
5 *οα* . *εαξησω*  
*· · · · ·*  
*· τησησον* . . . . .  
*παε* . *σναστεχσ* . . . . .  
*κα* . *απατων* . . . . .  
*εα* . . . . . *πτεινο* . . . . .  
10 *νσε* . . . *αυτηνκαιπ* . . . .  
*ωσ* . . . *τουσσυνα* . . . . .  
*λουσενεδρενεις*
- 5th Fable.—Πέρδιξ καὶ γεωργός.  
Πέρδικά τις γεωργὸς ὃν τεβηρεύκει  
θύειν ἔμελλεν ἐσπέρας [τὲ] δειπ-  
νήσων.  
τὸν δ' ἰκέτευε . . . . .  
· · · · ·  
τοὺς σοὶ συν[αδελφούς καὶ φί]λους  
ἐνεδρενεῖς.



5th Fable.—Of this fable just enough is left to establish what have been the contents. The text was not so large as to occupy the whole tablet; in the midst is a lacuna. Such is the state of the writing on this tablet that I must give up all attempts at restoring the text, the more as in this case even the Bodleian paraphrase varies so much that it would prove to be of no help at all. 1. *τεθηρεύκει*. 'Babrius very rarely omits the augment of the pluperfect except after a long vowel, in which case it may be regarded as elided' (Rutherford *ad* 4, 1). 2. *ἐσπέρας τε* (or *δὲ*) *δειπνήσων* does not agree with the following verse. Perhaps: *τὲ δειπνήσειν*. The exigencies of the metre may have engaged the author (or the copyist!) to use the two constructions of the infinitive after *μέλλω* in the same line. A difference cannot be stated between them (Rutherford, *The New Phrygians*, p. 420-425). The Bodleian *ὅτι τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους σοι ἐνεδρεῦσαι θέλεις* allows us to restore the verse *τοὺς σοι συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἐνεδρεῦεις*.

## IV. verso.

ναιωσποταυτοισαν  
 δρασιβυθισησιδωντισα  
 δικωσειπεντουσθεουσκρα  
 εινινενοσασεβουσενβε  
 5 βηκοτοσπλοιωπολλου  
 ασυνατωμηθειαιτιουσ  
 θνησκει  
 καιτουτομουλεγοντρησι  
 ασυμβαινειπολυσεπαυτ  
 10 . νηκεθεσμοσυμμηκων  
 υφενοσδεδηχθειςσυνεπατη  
 . ετουσαλλουσ  
 ερμησδεπισταστωτερα  
 βδιω ν . ξασει . . . κοιειτουσ  
 15 . εο . σημωνειναιδικαστας  
 . ποιοσεισυμμηκων

6th Fable.—*Δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ μύρμηκος καὶ Ἑρμῆς.*

Νεὼς ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι[ν] βυ-  
 θισθείσης,  
 ἰδὼν τις ἀδίκως εἶπεν τοὺς θεοὺς  
 κρίνειν  
 ἑνὸς [γάρ] ἄσεβους ἑμβεβηκότος  
 πλοῖον  
 πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μηθὲν αἰτίους  
 θνήσκειν.  
 5 καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμοῦ λέγοντος, οἷα συμ-  
 βαίνει,  
 πολὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἵκεθ' ἐσμός μυρ-  
 μήκων  
 ὑφ' ἑνὸς δὲ δηχθεὶς συνεπάτησε  
 τοὺς ἄλλους.  
 Ἑρμῆς δ' ἐπιστὰς τῷ τε ῥαβδίῳ  
 νύξας  
 'εἴτ' οὐκ οἶει [σὺ] φησί' 'τοὺς  
 θεοὺς ὕμων  
 εἶναι δικαστὰς ὁποῖος εἶ σὺ μυρ-  
 μήκων;'

6th Fable.—Both the Athoan and the Vatican manuscript have this fable. 1. *ἔλεγεν ἄδικα* Athous, *ἀδίκως ἔλεγε* Vaticanus and Knoell. 3. *γάρ* Athous. 4. Concerning the writing *μηθὲν* see Meisterhans, p. 216, 217. 6. *πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐσμός ἦλθε μυρμήκων*. In our text the verse is corrupt; *πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὸν* only partly restores the metre. Between 6 and 7 we read in both manuscripts *σπεύδοντες* (*σπεύδων τὰς*, Vaticanus) *ἄχνας πυρίνας ἀποτρώγειν*. These words or what might be their equivalent are not found in Knoell. 7. *συνεπάτησε τοὺς πλείους* Athous. *συνεπάτει τοὺς πάντας*



Vaticanus. Pius Knoell (*Neue Fabeln des Babrius, Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. in Wien*, 91 (1878), p. 676) has pointed out that the Vatican πάντας is better than πλείους. I prefer τοὺς ἄλλους to both readings. 8. παίων Athous, Vaticanus. νύξας is much more appropriate: Hermes did not beat the man, but he gave him a slight push with his staff in order to attract his attention, and then put his ironical question. Cf. e.g. *Odyssey* xiv. 484: καὶ τότ' ἐγὼν Ὀδυσῆα προσηύδων ἐγγὺς εὐόντα | ἀγκῶνι νύξας, and the proverb λέοντα νύσσεις. 9. εἴτ' οὐκ ἀνέξῃ φησί Athous. Perhaps I am not right in adding σύ; it may be that the boy simply replaced ἀνέξῃ by οἶει without minding the metre. 10. οἶος Athous, Vaticanus, Knoell. ὁποῖος is a gross fault.

IV. verso (*continued*).

λεονταφευγωναυροσεισ  
ερημιανενσπηλυγκατε  
... ποιμενωνορειφοιτ . νο  
20 ποντραγοστισεκτοσαιπολο  
· μεινας

## V. recto.

τονταυρονεκβαστοισκε  
ρασινεξωθειοδειπενονσ  
ετουλεονταεκφευγωεπι  
παρελθατωμεκαιτοτε  
5 γνωσειποσοντραγουμετα  
ξυκαιποσονταυρου

## 7th Fable.—Ταῦρος καὶ τράγος.

Λέοντα φεύγων ταῦρος εἰς ἐρημαίην  
(ἐν) σπήλυγγα κατέδυν ποιμένων ὀρει-  
φοίτων,  
ὅπου τράγος τις ἐκτὸς αἰπόλου  
μείνας  
τὸν ταῦρον ἐκβὰς τοῖς κέρασιν  
ἐξώθει.  
ὁ δ' εἶπεν 'οὐ σέ, τὸν λέοντα [δ']  
ἐκφεύγω.  
ἐπεὶ παρελθάτω με, καὶ τότε γνώσει  
πόσον τράγου μετὰξυ καὶ πόσον  
ταύρου.'

7th Fable.—In this fable we have another proof that our tablets are a sadly corrupted copy of an original which in many respects was superior to the Athoan and Vatican codices. Gross errors like the redundant ἐν (2) and the failing of δ' (5) are compensated by the excellent reading ἐκβὰς (4). 3. χωρίς Athous. 4. ἐμβάντα Athous. τὸν ταῦρον ἐμβαίνοντα κέρασιν Lachmann, ἐμβάντα ταῦρον (Mähly, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 87 (1863), p. 319), ἐμβαντα τοῦτον M. Schmidt (*Rhein. Mus.* 26 (1871), p. 202) and Desrousseaux, ἐμβὰς most editors (Eberhard, Seidler, Schneidewin) after Bergk, who also proposed ἄντα (*Index lect. aet. Marburg* (1845), p. ix.), a conjecture afterwards made by Rutherford and deemed certain by Crusius (*Philol. Anzeiger*, 14 (1884), p. 180). 5. Rutherford: 'Athous ἐξωθῶ in textu prae se fert, sed ἐκκλίνω in margine.' The Athoan reading seems preferable, for ἐκφεύγω means *I escape*, and the sense required is *I fly*. Bergk's conjecture ἐκκλίνων is accepted by Desrousseaux. Between 5 and 6 the codex Athous has ἀνέξομαι σου μικρὰ τῆς ἐπηρεΐης. The following line shows that this verse (not to be found in Knoell) is spurious. In Greek an assertion may be followed by ἐπεὶ with an imperative denoting what may happen in order to prove the truth of what is sustained, e.g. νόσον γὰρ ὁ πατήρ . . . νοσεῖ, ἢν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς γνοίῃ . . . εἰ μὴ



πίθοιθ' ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ τοπάξετε (for only try to guess it, and you will find, etc.), Arist. *Vesp.* 71. Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 473 E: οὐκ οἶει ἐξεληλέγχθαι, ὅταν τοιαῦτα λέγῃς, ἀ οὐδεὶς ἂν φήσειεν ἀνθρώπων; ἐπεὶ ἐροῦ τινα τούτων, and so often in Plato ἐπεὶ λέγε μοι, ἐπεὶ θέασαι, etc. Verse 5 contains such an assertion, but the Athoan verse does not, unless an undue emphasis is given to μικρά. Moreover, the interpolation may be explained in this way: the idiomatic ἐπεὶ with imperative was misunderstood and confused with ἔπειτα,<sup>28</sup> therefore a verse was interpolated which might be followed by ἔπειτα. The verse itself has nothing of the transparency which is one of the qualities of Babrius' style. 6. παρελθάτω. On the strong aorists with the alpha of the weak, so frequent in late Greek, see Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus*, p. 216 ff. and Buresch, *Rhein. Mus.* 46 (1891), p. 193 ff.

• V. recto (continued).

- λεωνγηρασυσσχεθεισιν  
σεινπροσεποιετωσδιατα  
υτη . τηςπλαγησταλοιπα  
10 θηρια . σειτηνσυσκεψιναντ .  
νερχ . μενακατεδαπανα  
τοιγ . ρουναλωπηξκατατ  
ηνεαυτησανχινοιαν . . . η  
σετασενεδρασκαιουτ . σεαυ  
15 τηνηρμοσενινακαιτηνχα  
ρ . . . αναπληρωσθαι . . . κ . .  
... ουεκφυγηεκτοστους .  
λε . . . εστωσαησπασατο . .  
λεοντα  
20 ποετασνυσσια  
αβηρμαθυρμιση  
γασικυρηττ . . .  
ιοσ  
κ . να . . . λ . . . αα . α

V. verso.

- . . . κτ . στουσπ . . . . . τω  
. . . ησπασα . . . . . ροσερ . . . επ  
. . . αιτ . θεισα . . . π . . . . . ρρσδια  
. . . ιμηεισηρχετ . . . . . εν . αιχ  
5 . ημενπαντωντωγβηρ  
ιωνεισερχομενωνορωεξε  
ρχομενων . ουχορωδιδασ  
κειημαστομυθοσταμελλον  
. . . ροβλεπειν . μοιφσ

8th Fable.—Λέων καὶ ἀλώπηξ.

- Λέων γήρα συσχεθείς νοσεῖν προσ-  
ποιεῖτο, ὡς διὰ ταύτης τῆς πλάνης  
τὰ λοιπὰ θηρία ὡς εἰ τὴν σύσκεψιν  
αὐτοῦ ἐρχόμενα κατεδαπάνα. τοι-  
5 γαρὺν ἀλώπηξ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς  
ἀγχίνουσαν [ἐνό]ησε τὰς ἐνέδρας καὶ  
οὕτως ἑαυτὴν ἤρμοσεν ἵνα καὶ τὴν  
χάριν ἀναπληρώσῃ καὶ [τὸν κίν-  
δυν]ον ἐκφύγῃ· ἐκτὸς τοῦ σ[π]ηλαί-  
10 [ου] ἐστῶσα ἡσπάσατο τ[ὸν] λέοντα  
([ἐκ]τὸς τοῦ σπ[ηλαίου] ἐσ[τῶ]σ[α]  
ἡσπάσα[το] ἀλλ' οὐ π[ροσερ]χεται·  
ἔπ[ειτ'] αἰτηθεῖσα [ὑπό τινος] διὰ  
τί μὴ εἰσῆρχετο εἶπεν· 'τὰ ἔχνη  
15 μὲν πάντων τῶν θηρίων εἰσερχομέ-  
νων ὁρῶ, ἐξερχομένων δ' οὐχ ὁρῶ.'  
διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ὁ μῦθος τὰ μέλλον[τα]  
π[ροβλέπειν].

<sup>28</sup> Many examples of a confusion between *ἐπεὶ* and *ἔπειτα* in our manuscripts are gathered

by Dindorf at the end of his article on *ἐπεὶ* in Stephanus' *Thesaurus*.



8th Fable.—There is a considerable difference between our text and Babrius. Of the prose collections the Bodleian version (Knoell 73) closely follows Babrius; the text of the tablets has some resemblance to that of the fables edited by Coray (especially 137c), but the resemblance to the Pseudodosithean version is much stronger. Our text is miserably curtailed and corrupted. 3. After εἰ probably a sigma has fallen out; in late Greek ὡς εἰς is found for εἰς, like ὡς ἐν, ὡς πρὸς for ἐν and πρὸς. It is, however, equally possible that ὡς εἰ is a relic of a primitive ὡς εἰ ἐπισκεψόμενοι (cf. Babrius 39, 3). The absurd σύσκεψις is in perfect harmony with κατεδαπάνα.—The words written in cursive at the bottom of V. recto do not belong to the text. The only word to be read with fair certainty is ἄθυρμα. 12. For χεται there is only space if it was abbreviated; perhaps there stood προσήει, written προσειη. At the end of 18 a word is written in very small characters; it may be ὁμοίως.

V. verso (*continued*).

- 10 μυσεπανώλεοντο . . . . .  
 . . . ενονεφηλλατο . . . . .  
 . . . οναυτονέξηγειρετο  
 . . . εωνδραξ . . . . ν . . . .  
 . . . αιρεινεβουλ . . . . .  
 15 . . . κεινοσυνγνωμη . . . . .  
 . . . ρτιασητησατοκαινπ . . .  
 . . . αυτουοκ . λλαττονα . . .  
 . . . ανοισειναυτωνυπεισχνειτο

## VI. recto.

- ε . ελλε . . . . α . . . . . τουσου  
 τωσει . . . . τονζ . . . . .  
 . . . ρ . . . τασαποδωσειν . . . τε . . .  
 λετοαπελυσεναντονουπ . . .  
 5 . . . υστερονυποκυνηγων . . .  
 . . . φθεις . . . . ωνεισδεσμα . . .  
 τότε . . . μυσαναμνησ . . . . .  
 ποδ . . . . εαυτωτην . . . . .  
 . . . δησενδιατησιν . . . . .  
 10 . . . υσαμενοσταδες . . . . .  
 . . . . . αυτονουτωπολλα . . . αν . .  
 . . . οστ . σβοηθηυποησσο . ω . .  
 . . . ισν . . . . . χουσσάννερχε

## 8th Fable.—Λέων και μῦς.

- Μῦς ἐπάνω λέοντο[ς κοιμωμέ]νον  
 ἐφήλατο [καὶ τὸν ὕπν]ον αὐτοῦ  
 ἐξήγειρεν. ὁ [μὲν λ]έων δραξ[άμε-  
 νος αὐτὸ]ν [ἀν]αιρεῖν ἐβούλ[ετο  
 5 ἐ]κείνος συγγνώμη[ν τῆς ἀμα]ρτίας  
 ᾗτήσατο καὶ ὑπ[ισχνεῖτό ποτ']  
 αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐλάττονα [χάριν] ἀνοί-  
 σειν αὐτῷ (ὑπισχνεῖτο) . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 10 . . . χάριτας ἀποδώσειν . . . ἀπέ-  
 λυσεν αὐτόν. οὐ πολ[λῷ δὲ] ὕστε-  
 ρον ὑπὸ κυνηγῶν [συλλη]φθεις [ὁ  
 λ]έων εἰς δεσμὰ [ἐβλήθη]. τότε [ὁ]  
 15 μῦς ἀναμνησ[θεὶς τοῦ ἀπ]οδοῦναι  
 αὐτῷ τὴν [χάριν προύπη]δησε διὰ  
 τῆς νυ[κτὸς καὶ λ]υσάμενος τὰ  
 δεσ[μὰ ἔσωσεν] αὐτόν. οὕτω πολ-  
 λά[κις] ἀν[θρώπος] τις βοηθῇ ὑφ'  
 20 ἡσσόνων . . . . .

9th Fable.—The condition of the text is still worse than in the preceding fable. Coray (n. 217 and p. 373) gives a version which, though varying very much from our text, yet comes closer to it than Babrius or the



Bodleian paraphrase. Here too our text most resembles the version of Pseudodositheus. 1. *κοιμώμενον*, Coray, n. 217. 2. *ὑπνον αὐτοῦ ἐξύπνικεν* Pseudodositheus. 6. *ποτ' αὐτοῦ* once in his life (?) 16. I have taken *προὔπήδησε* from Babrius 107, 12.

VI. recto (*continued*).

- ... *ιδν* . . . . . *σα* . *φυ* . . . . . *ν* . . .  
 15 *τομηδαι* . *ξ* . . . . . *ουσα* . . *εισαδα* . .  
*τωφονειοναποτειν* . *ιχαριν* . . .  
*χθεισδεεφη*  
*δυσανγκαιμιαιφ* . . . . .  
*σεεπιτουτωιναμ* . *δ* . . . . . *την* . . .  
 20 *κτανησηδαιπουσα* . . . . .  
*τησεισκανθαν* . . . . .  
*οτιουδεικακουσενε* . . . . .

## 10th Fable.—Γεωργὸς καὶ ἔχιδνα.

[\**Εχ*]ιδν[άν τις ἀ[σ]φυ[κτοῦσα]ν  
 . . . [δακ]οῦσ' αὐτῷ φόνιον ἀπο-  
 τείν[ε]ι χάριν [δη]χθεῖς δ' ἔφη.  
*δύσανγε καὶ μιαίφ[όνε ξωσα]* σὲ  
 5 ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἵνα μ[ὲ] δ[ύστην]ον  
*κτάνης* ; ἢ δ' εἰποῦσα . . . . .  
 . . . . . ὅτι οὐ δεῖ  
*κακοὺς ἐνεργετεῖν*.

10th Fable.—Neither Babrius nor any of the prose versions agree in the least with our text. But for the last line it would be uncertain if the fable has a right to the title I have given it.

## VI. verso.

- ονοσλεοντηνισχνρις*  
*εφαπλωσασεφασκενει*  
*ναιπασιφοβεροσανθρωπ*  
*οισσκερτωνεπηδααπο*  
 5 *ρυνονησειοδεροσδετουνω*  
*τουσκιρτωνεπηδακαι* . *σ*  
*τισωνεφωραθηκαιτισπροσου*  
*πειπωτωξ* . . . . .  
*πε* . *υκωσ*

## 11th Fable.—Ὄνος καὶ λεοντῇ.

\**Ονος* λεοντῇν *ισχύοις ἐφαπλώσας*  
*ἔφασκεν εἶναι πᾶσι φοβερὸς ἀνθρώ-*  
*ποις*  
*σκιρτῶν ἐπήδα* . . . . .  
 [τ]ὸ δέρος δὲ τοῦ νώτου (σκιρτῶν  
 ἐπήδα) καὶ [δ]στις ὦν ἐφωράθη  
 5 καὶ . . . . .

11th Fable.—The two first lines are choliambics; then the text becomes corrupt. From *δέρος δὲ τοῦ νώτου* and *καὶ ὅστις ὦν ἐφωράθη*, however, we may gather that the other part equally consisted of choliambics. The Bodleian paraphrase (like the other prose versions) differs considerably from our text, whereas it entirely agrees with Coray, n. 258a. 1. *ισχύοις* is a very uncertain reading; the word when used of animals has a meaning which is scarcely applicable to this passage. Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 254 C: *ἡναγκάσθη εἰς τοῦπίσω ἐλκύσαι τὰς ἡνίας οὕτω σφόδρα ὥστε ἐπὶ τὰ ἰσχία ἄμφω καθίσαι τῷ ἵππῳ*.—Probably a form of *ἀπορρεῖν* is hidden in *απορρυν* and of *προσωποποιεῖν* in *προσυνπειπω*.

VI. verso (*continued*).

- 10 *ελαφος* . . . . . *ευκερωσ*  
*αχαικ* . . . . . *η* . *κορεσ*  
*θειση* . . . . . *νφυνειλι*  
*μνησ* . . . . . *ειν* . *ησν*  
*χαζον* . . .

## 12th Fable.—Ἐλαφος καὶ κυνηγέται.

\**Ελαφος* . . . *εὐκερως* . . . *κορεσθεῖς*  
 . . . . .  
*λίμνης [ὑδωρ ἐπ]ινε[ν]* ἡσυχαζού-  
 [σης],  
*κάκει* αὐτοῦ τὴν σκιὰν θεωρήσας



- 15 κακειδεαυτουτηνσκιαν  
θεω . ρησας . ηλησμενενε  
κεκαιπρδφνηλυπειτοεπι  
τοιςδεκεραστηναιτουωσκα  
λοισεκαυχατο  
20 κρεινεινμηδαπογονισ . ουτοσφα  
λουσημασαινιοτε

## VII. recto.

- τονδοιποδεσμενοιστ  
οπροσθηνηθυμειδιεσωζον  
ωσδηλθενεισμεσασυλασοζοισ  
τακερατασυνπλακεισεθηρευθη  
5 προδωκενδεαυτονοισαγαντε  
πιστευκειανθρωπος . . . νβεβαι  
αμηδοκεικρεινεινμηδαπο  
γνοισταυτασφαλλουσινγαρημασα  
ενιοτεαιποποιθησις

- 5 χηλῆς μὲν ἔνεκε[ν] καὶ ποδῶν ἐλυ-  
πεῖτο  
ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ κέρασιν (αὐτοῦ) ὥς κα-  
λοῖς ἐκαυχᾶτο.  
... (κρίνειν  
μηδ' ἀπογνῶς ταῦτα σφάλλουσι  
γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐνίοτε αἱ πεποιθήσεις)...  
10 τὸν δ' οἱ πόδες μὲν οἷς τὸ πρόσθεν  
ἠθύμει  
διέσωζον. ὥς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς μέσας  
ῥῆλας  
ὄξοις τὰ κέρατα συμπλακεῖς ἐθη-  
ρεύθη.  
προῦδωκε(ν) δ' αὐτὸν οἷς ἄγαν πε-  
πιστεύκει.  
ἄνθρωπος [ὦ]ν βέβαια μὴ δόκει  
κρίνειν  
15 μηδ' ἀπογνῶς ταῦτα σφάλλουσι  
γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐνίοτε αἱ πεποιθήσεις.

12th Fable.—First come two lines, which probably are a paraphrase of the first line of Babrius; then follow choliambics generally giving the same text as Babrius, although badly curtailed and corrupted. 3. ὕδωρ ἔπινεν Athous. 4. ἐπεὶ δ' Athous. 5. ἔνεκε Athous, like our text; for the ν ephelkustikon, see Rutherford, p. xcv. Eberhard and Knoell (*Die Babrian. Fabeln*, etc., p. 19) think that a verse has fallen out after 5. 6. ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ κέρασιν ὥς καλοῖς ἄγαν ἠύχει Athous. Most editors have written ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασι δ', but needlessly for 'Babrius adopted the quantity of κέρας to the demands of his verse.'—Rutherford. Cobet (*Oratio de arte interpretandi*, Leiden 1847, p. 155) cites, as specimens of the barbarisms which disfigure the Athoan text, χηλῆς . . ἔνεκα, the juxtaposition of ἐλυπήθη and ἠύχει instead of ἠύχησε, ἄγαν καλοῖς for καλλίστοις. A. Hecker (*Philol.* 5 (1849), p. 490 ff.) has defended the incriminated words and turns, but without success. After 6 many lines have fallen out; instead of them there follows part of the epimythium in very indistinct cursive. It is probably copied from VII. verso. 10—14 must be compared to Babrius 11—15:

ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ σύνδενδρον ἦλθεν εἰς ῥῆλας,  
κέρατα θάμνοις ἐμπλακεῖς ἐθηρεύθη.  
καὶ ταῦτ' ἔφη· 'δύστηνος ὥς διεφρέυσθη·  
οἱ γὰρ πόδες μ' ἔσωζον οἷς ἐπηδούμην  
τὰ κέρατα δὲ προῦδωκεν οἷς ἐγαυρούμην.'

We have in our text almost the same words in a different order. By reading διέσωζον. ὥς δὴ δ' ἦλθεν we may restore verse 11 of our text. The dittography will account for the disappearance of the first δὴ; ὥς δὴ δὲ can be



compared to ἐπειδὴ δὲ for ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆ. Babrius affects the plural of ὄλη in the sense of 'silvae': *Proem.* I. 8; 12, 2; 46, 7; 92, 2; 95, 10, 42 (Crusius, *de Babrii Aetate*, p. 177). 13. πεπιστεύκει: 'Babrius very rarely omits the augment of the pluperfect except after a long vowel.'—Rutherford, p. 9. 14 ff. The Athoan codex has nearly the same epimythium in a better form:

περὶ τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ὅταν κρίνης  
μηδὲν βέβαιον ὑπολάβῃς προγινώσκων  
μηδ' αὐτ' ἀπογνῶς, μηδ' ἀπελπίσῃς· οὕτω  
σφάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐνίοθ' αἱ πεποιθήσεις.

VII. recto (*continued*).

- 10 ὀρνιθοσα . . . θησωαχρυσαιτικου  
σησοδεσπότησενομισενέντοσ  
ευρησειν χρυσου μέγιστον ὄγκον  
ὄν περ ὠδί-  
νην ευρετην φυσιν πασαι σομοι  
15 ἀνμεγιστον ὄγκον ἐλπίσαστε  
καὶ σπεύσατε ἀπεστερήθη  
τοῦτα μικρὰ κερδαίνειν

## 13th Fable.—Ὅρνις χρυσοτόκος.

Ὅρνιθος ἀ[γα]θῆς φά χρυσὰ τικ-  
τούσης  
ὁ δεσπότης ἐνόμισεν ἐντὸς εὐρήσειν  
χρυσοῦ μέγιστον ὄγκον, ὄν περ ὠδί-  
νειν.  
θύσας δὲ ταύτην εὗρε τὴν φύσιν  
πάσαις  
ὁμοίαν. μέγιστον ὄγκον ἐλπίσας  
τὲ καὶ σπεύσας  
ἀπεστερήθη τοῦ τὰ μικρὰ κερδαί-  
νειν.

13th Fable.—The Athoan manuscript ends with the first line of this fable. Our text fairly agrees with the Bodleian paraphrase (Knoell 112), but it has many corruptions. 1. φά χρυσά Athous. Most editors (Lachmann, Schneidewin, Eberhard, Gittlbauer, Rutherford) and Mähly (*Jahrb. f. Philol.* 87 (1863), p. 317) have written χρύσε' φά, but Röper (*Philol.* 10 (1854), p. 501) holds fast to the Athoan reading and proposes φά χρυσά, the late form of χρυσά. He compares ὁστά, διπλά and similar forms 'labentis Graecitatis cui ipse affinis est Babrius.' The contracted adjectives in -ους were as early as the first centuries of our era strongly influenced by the adjectives in -ος, which later wholly superseded them. Cf. Coray, *ad Isocr.* 278 and Sophocles, *Romaic or Modern Greek Gramm.*, Boston 1850, p. 60. 3. ὠδίνειν is hardly intelligible although it suits the metre (see *supra*); ὄν περ ὠδίειν (or ὠδίνοι, which saves the metre) would signify, which she wanted to bring forth. 5. μέγιστον ὄγκον is manifestly a repetition from 3. I propose: ὁμοίαν. τὸ πλείστον ἐλπίσας τε καὶ σπεύσας.

VII. recto (*continued*).

- ὀρνιξποτησθενησεταιδεπροσ-  
κυψασελουροσειπετιθέλειση  
20 τινος χρηζεισεγωπαρεξωπαν  
τασυμνονσωζουηδορνιξειπενμυθον

## 14th Fable.—Ὅρνις καὶ αἰλουρος.

Ὅρνις ποτ' ἡσθένησε· τῇ δὲ προσ-  
κύψας  
αἰλουρος εἶπε· τί θέλεις ἢ τίνος  
χρήζεις;



αξιονγνωμησσυδαναπελθησει  
 πονοκαποθνησκω

ἐγὼ παρέξω πάντα σοι· μόνον  
 σφίζου.  
 ἡ δ' ὄρνις εἶπεν μῦθον ἄξιον γνώμης  
 ὅ 'σὺ δ' ἂν ἀπέλθης, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἀπο-  
 θνήσκω.'

14th Fable.—2. This verse is corrupted in our text. The Athoan codex gives the right reading: πῶς ἔχεις, τίνοσ' χρῆζεις. 4 is wanting in the Athoan codex and 5 begins as follows: ἡ δ' ἂν ἀπέλθης; 4 is an interpolation, as is sufficiently proved by the repetition of εἶπεν.

D. C. HESSELING.

LEIDEN, October 1893.



TERRACOTTA ANTEFIX FROM LANUVIUM.<sup>1</sup>

THE terracotta antefix here published possesses some interest in itself, but more perhaps from the place and circumstances in which it was found. It is one of those examples of architectural decoration which date from an early time when the roofs and cornices of buildings were made of wood cased with terracotta. In such circumstances the vertical joints of the roof-tiles had to be protected against rain by covering-tiles, *imbrices*, which it was usual to make semi-cylindrical in shape. At the lower extremities these *imbrices* presented a disagreeable aspect which called for decoration, and this decoration very frequently took the form of a palmette or a female face in relief which was repeated from the same mould and placed in a continuous series along the top of the cornice of the building. Till within recent years very little was known of this sort of archaic decoration, as may be seen on reference to the valuable memoir of Dörpfeld and others on the subject<sup>2</sup> published in 1881. And though a good many objects of this class have been discovered since then they have not yet been collected and published.

Among the examples found of late years it is interesting to observe the occurrence of figure-subjects in place of, or in alternation with, the traditional female or Gorgon's face. The present is an instance. Apparently it represents merely a Bacchic group of a Satyr and a Maenad, accompanied by a Panther. The serpent which the Satyr holds in his right hand suggests a Bacchic orgy. Apparently it is a group taken from some large composition in which the Maenad would probably have carried a thyrsus or a serpent in her left hand. But in this antefix she has never had a left hand. It has simply been given up because a left hand projecting from the composition would have been most unsuitable for an antefix and because the artist did not see his way to modify the action of the left arm. The Satyr is not pursuing the Maenad but joins with her in a forward movement, both of them eagerly looking before them. It may be the advent of Dionysos that they

<sup>1</sup> This article was in the printers' hands previous to the appearance of Prof. Furtwaengler's *Meisterwerke*, which contains on p. 250 a photograph of this antefix. But as Prof. Furtwaengler is very brief on the subject, as his description of the satyr is more amusing than accurate, and as his photograph misses some interesting points which our drawing discloses,

I do not think that this article need be regarded as superseded in any important respect. Prof. Furtwaengler does not state where he obtained the photograph.

<sup>2</sup> Dörpfeld, Graeber, Borrmann, Siebold, *Die Verwendung von Terracotten am Giebel und Dach Griechischer Bauwerke*. Winckelmann's-programm, 1.



are looking for. I cannot think of any explanation which would be more satisfactory. Meantime the action of the Satyr in holding up his left hand so as to shade his eyes is, so far as I know, new. This action answers to the phrase *ὑπόσκοπον χέρα*<sup>3</sup> which has been preserved from a drama of Aeschylus, with an explanation that this movement of the hand was *ὡς περ οἱ ἀποσκοποῦντες*, and was employed by Satyrs and Panes in a dance known as the *σκοπός* or *σκόπευμα*. As has generally been thought, we have the same action indicated in the description given by Pliny (xxxv. 138) of a picture



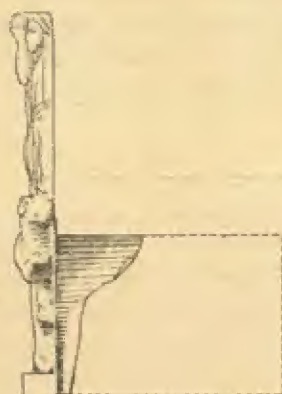
ANTEFIX FROM LANUVIUM. HEIGHT 16½ INCHES.

by Antiphilus, a painter of the Ptolemaic age: *nobilissimo Satyro cum pelle pantherina quem Aposcopeuonta appellat*. The finding of our archaic antefix shows that the motive was no creation of the painter, though he may well have been the first to utilize it for a single figure. The antefix is brightly coloured, the panther spotted black on dun, the Satyr vermillion as is also the drapery of the Maenad, which last has white borders, the face of the Maenad white with eyes and eyebrows marked in black.

<sup>3</sup> Nanck, *Fragmenta Trag. Gr.* p. 81, and cp. p. 21.



The antefix was found at Lanuvium, the modern Civita Lavinia, on land belonging to Lord Savile, formerly Ambassador in Rome. On that land Lord Savile has carried out very considerable excavations for several years, presenting the best part of the objects discovered to the British Museum. The conspicuous feature of the site now is a ruined imperial villa, possibly that of Antoninus Pius. The general aspect of the place is that of late Roman times. But outside the villa, and close to it, there are to be seen the semi-circular foundations of a small building which may well have been of an archaic age suitable to our antefix. That building had been rased to the ground, probably at the time when the imperial villa was constructed, and from the circumstance that several archaic antefixes with pieces of cornice in terracotta were found buried near by, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that they had originally been part of the architectural decoration of the building.



SECTION OF ANTEFIX.

We know from Pliny (xxxv. 17) that Lanuvium had been one of the oldest centres of art in Italy. He speaks of the ruins of a temple on the walls of which there was painted an archaic group of Atalanta and Helena, still well preserved and of such beauty that Caligula attempted to remove it but was prevented by the condition of the material on which it was painted. We know also that at Lanuvium there had been from early times an important local worship, that of the goddess Juno Sospita, whose appearance in later art, with a goat's-skin worn on the head much as Heracles wears the lion's skin, is familiar from the statue in the Vatican and from coins. In archaic art the type would probably have been the same.<sup>1</sup> The belief was that Lanuvium had been founded by Diomedes with Greek settlers.

It is therefore not surprising to find at Lanuvium remains of an archaic building dating from the time when roofs and cornices were constructed of wood cased with richly decorated terracotta. In many respects these terra-

<sup>1</sup> One of the prodigies of the year a.c. 181 was that the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium wept, Livy, xl. 19.



cottas resemble those which were found in considerable numbers a few years ago at Falerii and now exhibited in the villa Papa Giulio, outside the Porta del Popolo, Rome. In the court of that villa a full-size restoration has been made of the temple to which these Faliscan terracottas had belonged. We have every reason to accept this restoration as in general correct, though the full data for it have not yet been published. And in that case we shall have before us a model which may be useful when Lord Savile's excavations, which are still going on, shall have been completed. Meantime we are endeavouring to put together in the Museum those of the pieces of cornice and antefixae from Lanuvium which seem to have belonged to one building in such a way as to give some slight idea of the original effect. But if these remains indicate a building with a triangular pediment like the temple at Falerii, as they appear to do, it will be difficult to reconcile them with the archaic semi-circular foundations to which I have referred.<sup>5</sup> An alternative will be to assume that they had belonged to some other temple which had fallen in ruins and been cleared away to make room for the imperial villa or, better still, we may indulge the hope that Lord Savile's excavations may yet recover the ruins of the very building which we require.

A. S. MURRAY.

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<sup>5</sup> Lord Savile has published in the *Archæologia*, vol. 53, Pl. 7, one of the antefixae in the form of a female face, and in a previous volume

of the same, No. 45, p. 367, he has given an account of his excavation of the imperial villa.



## THE THERSILION AT MEGALOPOLIS.

## [PLATE XXI.]

THE Thersilion, or assembly hall, built in close connexion with the theatre at Megalopolis, has now been completely cleared. Several plans of the building, including a conjectural restoration, have already appeared in the special Supplement to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, published this year. The latter was based on the small tentative diggings already made. The plan (Pl. XXI.) in this number shows the whole area, and includes many additions and corrections from the earlier plan.<sup>1</sup>

The chief point of interest has been the arrangement of the columns behind the centre. It was evident at once, as soon as the clearing began, that the plan did not in all respects bear out Mr. Schultz's conjectural restoration (Supplementary paper, *J.H.S.*, p. 19). This was due partly to the fact that in the previous small diggings on the site two columns in the outer row next the south wall had been missed, partly because it was found on remeasurement that the centre was incorrectly marked.

For the sake of convenience we propose to call the outer row of columns *a*, the second row *b*, and so on to the central scheme of four columns which we call *c*. The columns are further indicated by numbers; thus the south-west column in row *a* is *a* 1, the next following the line is *a* 2, up to *a* 17: the south-west column of *b* is *b* 1, and so with the other rows.

The general plan as correctly stated in the *Megalopolis* publication consists of rows of columns radiating like fixed points on the spokes of a wheel from a centre. For the north part of the building, i.e. the side away from the theatre, this arrangement is regular with a few slight and intelligible modifications, and a glance at the plan will show the object for this arrangement. Had the columns been arranged as if in aisles, it is clear that only four aisles would have been visible from the centre in their whole length; whereas by our arrangement we find that from the centre the columns of the third row *c* completely hide all the columns in *a* and *b*; in fact that the whole of the hall is in visible and audible connexion with the centre except those parts that from the centre are hidden by the columns of *a*. A short calculation shows conclusively that no other arrangement would have

<sup>1</sup> The references throughout this article are to Plate IV. in the *Megalopolis* publication, and the plan in this volume.



permitted so large a number of persons to be in communication with the centre. It is natural then to suppose that the speaker stood at the centre, and this is borne out by an examination of levels. It will be seen that the floor of the hall slopes gradually upwards from the centre to the walls, and that the spectators therefore rose in tier after tier as in a theatre, thus giving greater facilities both for seeing and hearing. But southwards of the doorway *A* on the east side, and a conjectural doorway parallel with *A* in Mr. Schultz's restoration on the west side, this regular arrangement is interrupted, again, we think, intelligibly.

The divergence from the plan affects mainly the levels of the columns. Thus the bases *a* 1 and *a* 17 are much below the level of their row *a*: so also are *b* 1 and *b* 17. On the other hand *d* 1 and *d* 10 are above the level of row *d*, while *c* 1 and *c* 17 are on the proper level of *c*. The reason of this is clear from the result which shows us that all these columns are on the same level, i.e. the level of row *c*. Further the two columns on the lines of *e*, one of which is conjectural but fairly certain, are on the same level. By this means we get what we otherwise should not get, a level entrance from the portico, faced by the row of columns *c* 1, *d* 1, *e* 1, *e* 6, *d* 10, *c* 17, all of which are equidistant from and parallel to the south wall of the Thersilion, which was a later modification for the row of columns that originally stood there.

Considering the general uniformity of the plan, it seems probable that an architrave ran over each line of columns, and the variation in height of the bases *a* 1, *a* 17, *b* 1, *b* 17, &c., does not necessarily show that this piece of the building was roofed in a distinct manner, as the lowering or heightening of the base could be balanced by a greater or a less height of column in the cases of those columns whose bases are not on a level with those of the rest of their row.

The architrave from each row must of course have crossed to the walls, but there is no evidence whatever that it was received by an anta, indeed considering that there has been no trace whatever of an anta found in any of the walls, we must I think suppose that the beam of the architrave—certainly made of wood, as the intercolumniation in the outer row *a*, and in the row of columns opposite the portico is twenty-nine feet—was built into the wall.


Engaged columns were it is true added to the side walls of the portico in later times to receive the architrave coming from *c* 1 and *c* 17, but it is clear from the style of building that these did not belong to the original design. They ought rather to be assigned to a thorough rebuilding, of which marks remain all over the area.

The evidences for this are plain and numerous, the clearest perhaps being the two very different styles of bases for columns, of which only a few of the original style remain. These bases are approximately square, though there is often a difference of an inch or so between the length of the sides, and evidently supported originally Doric columns, as we can see that the top of the base itself was on ground level, the lower half of each side being left quite rough. In these earlier bases we find a large square dowel hole in the centre for the fixing of the lowest block of the column,



and there is no sign of any lead running. The dowel hole in fact is identical with the dowel hole found on the stylobate of the portico, belonging to the Doric order that stood upon it, and as any of these older bases are large enough to receive the largest Doric drum found in the theatre, it is reasonable to suppose that the order of the interior of the Thersilion was the same as the order of its portico. These earlier bases are moreover neatly drafted at the corners, with a smooth tooling running down to the bottom of the stone, whereas in the later bases the lower half is invariably left altogether rough.



The later bases are furnished with two small side dowel holes instead of one large central one, both lead-run. This in itself is a sufficient indication of a later date, and also the tooling on them is markedly rougher than on that of the earlier series. It is interesting to see that in many cases the old bases have been re-used, and the central dowel hole appears flanked by two later lead-run dowel holes.


An examination of the bases in row *c* confirms the idea of a rebuilding. Here the bases *c* 3, *c* 5, *c* 7, *c* 9, *c* 11, *c* 13, *c* 15 are quite unlike all other bases in the building. The foundation base, instead of consisting of large poros stones, cramped together in courses of two by  cramps, consists merely of one block of breccia of about the same size as the top white limestone base. In other words, in this row it appears that the intercolumniation has throughout been halved at a later period.



Now in row *d* every alternate base is omitted, in other words, every alternate spoke of bases running to the centre is left out in this row, in order obviously to increase, without unduly weakening the support, the area visible from the centre. This could be done without endangering the roof, for the intercolumniation in row *d* is only 23 feet, the same, or nearly the same as in row *b*, and about 6 feet less than in rows *a* and *c*. The same experiment apparently was tried unsuccessfully in *c*; it was found that the roof was in danger, the intercolumniation being 34 feet, and the intermediate columns were added all the way round, though at the expense of a large area, which thus became invisible to the centre. That these intermediate bases are later is beyond doubt: they are less carefully worked; in one case the top base is upside down, with its drafted edge resting on the lower stone, and the construction of the foundation piers is markedly inferior. The reason assigned for their subsequent addition is of course purely theoretical, but seems to meet the facts.

To the same period one would be inclined to assign the lead-run bases for engaged columns, also in row *c* abutting on the south wall. Here again the foundation piers consist of one stone, and in the case of the western pier, of a re-used stone, while the top base of the other pier has lead-run dowel holes, and a somewhat late moulding round its edge. The western section of the south wall shows similar signs. Originally, comparing it with the corresponding section on the east of the portico, the 'bull-nosed' sub-structure was surmounted by a cill course, and a double row of *στασηδόν*



slabs. In this section the two latter are missing, but we find that the top row of the substructure is cramped together not with , but with the later . Had there been no other evidence of rebuilding, this would have been of the first importance in determining the relative dates of the theatre and Thersilion: as it is, we may at least add it to the evidence of the later restoration.

A further mark is visible in doorway *d*. Here the first step is composed of two stones cramped with the , but in the adjoining stone in the wall is the mark of a lead-running supporting probably the jamb.

Now in the middle section of the south wall of the Thersilion we have more indications of the same. The wall with three doors in it, which at present forms the entrance to the portico, is not original, for it has built up into it four foundation piers similar to those in the Thersilion. This wall also then is a subsequent modification, and the style of its building resembles somewhat the repairs in the west section of the wall. It is done neatly, though it is not first-rate work, and we find also here the  cramp taking the place of the .

Now all these repairs are alike in style, and we cannot put this restoration at a period very distant from the original building, for the style is still good, and seems to be not later than the third century B.C. Can we then find any cause that may account for so thorough a rebuilding within a comparatively short period from the original construction?

It will be remembered that in row *c* every alternate column was found to be a later addition, owing probably to the fact that the intercolumniation (34 feet) was too large to be safe. This row it must be remembered stands in the centre of the system, and it will be seen when we consider the question of roofing, that it bore a greater weight than any other row, while at the same time the intercolumniation was greater than that in any other row, and it was here therefore that a possible collapse might occur. The large mass of contemporaneous repair, and the strengthening of row *c* by a row of intermediate columns and engaged columns in the south wall, lead one to think that such a collapse actually did happen, with the result that at the rebuilding, row *c*, the point of stress, was strengthened, and that for the row of columns in the portico a wall was substituted as being more secure. The collapse of a column in *c* would certainly drag part of the roof with it, doing widespread damage.

Now the state of the ground in the Thersilion gives some indirect evidence on this point. In the time of Pausanias the Thersilion was in ruins, and he adds that only the *θεμέλια* (column bases &c.) were to be seen. On a large part of the area was found a layer of white limestone chips, covered by a layer of tiles. That the restored columns were of limestone is probable from the fact that one piece of one of these—later than the restoration of which we have been speaking—remains *in situ*, and is composed of this material. It seems then likely, simply from the remains that exist, that the roof, which we know from the number of roof-tiles and antefixae found was of tiles, fell in, crushing the columns in its fall, and that



the large space between the columns—the undoubtedly weak point in the building—was again responsible for its ruin.

It seems unlikely that the building was floored with stone, since not a single slab has been found over the whole area, whereas the bases are in very fair preservation, and the choice lies between a simple sloped earth floor and a wooden floor. In spite of the objection that very little charcoal has been found, one is inclined to take the latter view for several reasons. The top bases, as has been remarked, are dressed smooth for about half their depth; below that the stones are not dressed away, so that a support is made on all sides for anything resting flush with the floor. Now had the floor been of earth this dressing would have been meaningless, as the bases were flush with the ground, while on the other hand this method of dressing is obviously suitable for the reception and retention of a wooden floor. Again square white bases supporting columns set in earth appear a somewhat unlikely method of flooring, whereas we are certain that wood must have been used to a large extent in the building for the architrave. Some slight remains in the portico also support this idea.

In front the portico consists of a Doric colonnade standing on five steps, the lower three of which are later than the two upper, the level of the orchestra having perhaps been lowered. At the back the second step projects beyond the top step, in a way that suggests that this second step supported something (cf. Fig. 1). At the distance of about 4 ft. 9 in.

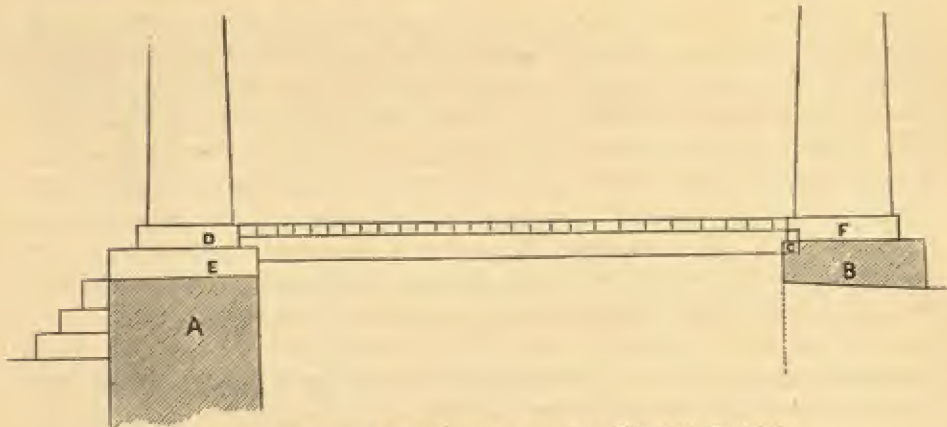


FIG. 1.—SECTION THROUGH PORTICO SHOWING WOODEN FLOORING.

- A. Poros substructure of portico.
- B. Poros foundation pier of column.
- C. Hole in B to receive beam resting on step of portico.
- D. Top step of portico cut back to receive beam.
- E. Second step of portico supporting beam.

below the level of the top step, and inside the portico, were found three curiously cut stones, of which mention is made in the *Megalopolis* publication, used perhaps for supporting stage scenery. The level at which they



appear makes it probable that there was something in the nature of a storing room below the portico, and that it was not filled up with earth. Indeed the finding of these stones at this level below the top step makes it impossible that this was the case.

The floor then crossed from the south wall of the Thersilion, which originally consisted of four columns, to the front of the portico, at the level of the top step, and it cannot have been made of stone, owing to the space, which is nearly twenty feet. Now in these piers, now built into the wall, are large square holes, about 8 in.  $\times$  5 in., facing the portico, the top of which is level with the second step. They can hardly have been made for anything else than for wooden beams. On the top of these foundation piers came the limestone base, in which I imagine a corresponding hole was cut, to receive the rest of the wooden beam, which crossed over to the front of the portico, and was cut to fit the second step, resting half on it. Cross beams resting on this, and forming the floor, would bring the level exactly up to the level of the top step of the portico, and the top of the row of bases in the Thersilion. Moreover, when for this open colonnade a wall was substituted, we still find the cill course cut back from these bases, thus leaving the holes for the beams still free to carry the floor.

Of the level and arrangement of the bases behind the centre, Mr. Bather speaks more fully (p. 328). It may be noticed that *a* 1 and *a* 17 radiate with *b* 1, *b* 17, *c* 1, *c* 17, not as marked in Mr. Schultz's restoration from the centre, but from the columns *c* 1 and *c* 4. The discovery of these bases accounts for the dressed face of the east corner of the south wall, which is lower of course than the rest of row *a*, but on a level with *a* 17, *b* 17, &c. It may be noticed that the doorway *A* is on a level with row *a*, and that therefore the slope from this doorway to the south wall, dressed down to the level of *a* 17, is very steep. The inner face, however, of the south corner of the east wall, is very carelessly built, and was evidently meant not to show, whereas the other wall of this angle is very good work. A staircase of some sort is absolutely necessary to lead down from the doorway to the south wall, and if we restore this against the east wall, we may account for this inferior piece of building.

The foundation piers of *c* 1 and *c* 17 are continued in a curious manner towards the south wall, and the top base of *c* 17, an original base, as seen from the dowel hole, has a neat draft round its south face, as if to receive another stone in this direction, while on the foundation base is a large square hole cut to receive a support of some kind. The base *c* 1 is not original, but the similarity of the foundation bases and the square holes suggests that a line of railing, fixed perhaps in a line of stones, ran from these points to the south wall. Other indications seem to show that it was continued along the line of columns of which *c* 1 and *c* 17 are the extremities. Considering the purpose of the Thersilion, one might suggest that the enclosure had something to do with the voting, corresponding perhaps to our 'Opposition Lobby.'

With regard to the proposed doorway (*Megalopolis*, p. 22) corresponding



to doorway *A*, in the west wall, a careful examination of the site has shown no further evidence of its existence, and one can only say that if such a doorway did exist, it has totally disappeared.

The row of columns *c* 1, *d* 1, &c.—*d* 17 are, as it has been mentioned before, on the same level, and equidistant from the south wall. The object of this was no doubt to secure a level space opposite the main entrance from the portico, bearing as it were the same relation to the Thersilion as the portico does to the theatre. Mr. Bather enlarges on this point later. This row of columns suggests that an architrave ran along them, thus completing the square of row *c*. The same level is maintained in the columns *b* 1 and *a* 1, *b* 17 and *a* 17.

The difficulty of the question of roofing is this: that, whereas we should expect *a priori* that the roof followed the line of the floor, such an arrangement is here impossible, for in that case, as the floor slopes downwards to the centre, all the rain water would drain not off the roof, but into the centre of it. For a similar reason it is necessary that the whole building, from wall to wall, should be roofed, for if it were not, the water following the slope of the floor would again drain to the centre, not of the roof, but of the floor—an even more undesirable result.

We have also to take into account the problem of how the hall was lit. It is true that every window placed in the walls opposite the openings between the columns of row *a* would throw light as far as the centre, owing to the radiating system adopted, but it is, I think, doubtful, considering the distance of the centre from the walls, whether this would be adequate to the size of the building. Certainly the number of windows thus visible from the centre would have been very large, but an additional means of lighting seems possible, and it may be well to indicate this.

The third row *c*, together with the line of columns opposite the portico, forms a quadrilateral figure of the same level throughout. We may assume that this, after the possible collapse, was regarded as the point of stress, and we see that it was strengthened by doubling the number of its columns. It seems possible then that this row supported a clerestory for lighting. The outer or lower roof would run from the walls of the building on all sides up to this point. Some support may be found for this theory in the fact that this third row is at the four corners connected intimately, and otherwise unintelligibly, with the two outer rows. At the two south corners the level is continued by the columns *a* 1, *a* 17, *b* 1, *b* 17, while at the two northern corners the corner bases in the row are considerably higher than the rest, suggesting that a beam ran diagonally from them across to the outer rows. The difference of floor level is thus minimized as far as possible, for the roof must necessarily slope in an opposite direction to the floor.

Above this third row again, it is suggested, rose the clerestory protected by the projecting eaves of the central roof, which rose on the top of the clerestory and reached its apex over the centre.

The arrangement is of course purely theoretical, but it at any rate allows for additional lighting in the hall at a suitable point, and also for






the complete roofing of the hall and the draining of the roof, both of which from the fact that the floor slopes downwards to the centre are essential. Any discovery of a drain from the centre of the building would have made either of those other alternatives possible, but we can positively state, now that the whole area has been cleared, that there was no such drain. Some slight support for the theory of two roofs may be found in the fact that towards the centre of the building several antefixae of a different type from the large number found over the rest of the area were dug up, which I suggest had their place on the edges of the central roof. They were of very graceful and artistic appearance, and differed considerably from those found in other parts of the building.

It may be added that the Thersilion was cleared in the two spring seasons of 1892 and 1893; in the former year Mr. C. C. Inge and myself were in charge, in the latter Mr. A. G. Bather and I worked together.


E. F. BENSON.

Owing to the comparatively small size of the plan of the Thersilion given in this number, I append a list of additions and corrections to the plans published in the *Megalopolis* volume. Considering how important a question is being contested over the theatre, and how close the connexion is between that building and the Thersilion, it has seemed worth while to record every atom of evidence which may help us to determine data, and to put right mistakes however trifling. It will be enough to notice the errors in Plate IV. in the *Megalopolis* publication with occasional references to the text and the conjectural restoration.

(i) In the west section of the south wall of the Thersilion, the stones are cramped, not with the , but with the  cramp (cf. p. 24 of *Megalopolis* publication, where the  cramp is said to be found only in the middle section of wall, in the later steps of the portico).

(ii) The foundation base of *c* is produced southwards in the same way as that of *c* 17.

(iii) Large square hole in the foundation base of *c* 17 unmarked.

(iv) Foundation piers of row *a* always cramped together with .

(v) The base *a* 1 is not marked.


(vi) The base *a* 17 is marked as dug for and not found.

(vii) *b* 6 and *b* 12 have poros top bases, not white limestone.

(viii) *b* 5 has no limestone top, as marked.

(ix) Large holes in bases below the back wall of portico to receive wooden flooring, not marked.

(x) The centre is incorrectly marked (cf. plan in this volume).

(xi) Doorway *e* has  cramp in its lowest step, and also a lead-run hole on the side.

(xii) Foundation pieces of *c* 3, *c* 5, *c* 7. . . *c* 15 consist, not of two poros



stones projecting beyond the top base, but of one breccia block flush with it.

(xiii) Top base of *c* 7 is upside down.

(xiv) The only top bases remaining of the original style, *i.e.* with a central dowel hole, sometimes flanked later by two lead-run dowel holes are *a* 1, *a* 17, *d* 1, *c* 17, *e* 1.

(xv) The base *b* 2 is *in situ*, in its regular position.

(xvi) All the foundation bases except those mentioned above are in tiers of two stones, not, as frequently marked, one stone.

(xvii) The long side of the foundation stones of *a* 16 lies north and south, not east and west, and those of *a* 6 lie east and west, not north and south.

(xviii) Though the cill course in the west section of the south wall can be certainly restored, it is not *in situ*.


(xix) The level of the drafted edge in the east section of the south wall is accounted for by the discovery of *a* 1 and *a* 17 (*cf. Megalopolis* publication, p. 24), and all evidence for a green room vanishes.

(xx) On *b* 17 the dowel holes are two in number and lead-run; there is no central dowel hole.

E. F. B.



## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN OF THE THERSILION.

MR. BENSON in the preceding paper has given an account of the new facts which have been brought to light by the complete clearing of the Thersilion. With regard to these points of fact there can be no question and in the deductions to be drawn from them we are for the most part agreed. It remains to be seen whether from the remains before us we can reconstruct a building of any known Greek design, in other words, whether we can discover what was the builder's plan and how he developed it. At first sight a large columned hall of this nature appears to be un-Greek in character: the only parallel we can produce for it is the late Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis, which however only resembles it in the broadest characteristics. Where we do find halls which resemble this building however is in the East. The Hall of the hundred columns at Persepolis (Perrot et Chipiez, v. p. 723) presents several striking analogies: like the Thersilion it is a large square building on one side flanked by a portico while we have two doors on each of the other three. Now, as is clearly shown by the character of the building, the Thersilion belongs, *in its original plan*, to the earliest period after the foundation of Megalopolis by Epameinondas. That is sufficiently proved by the  cramps and the use of *tufa* rather than *conglomerate* for the foundation bases. Moreover just at this period we have a direct communication between Persia and Megalopolis in the person of Antiochus, who visited Susa as a delegate from the Arcadian league in 367 B.C. (*Xen. Hell.* vii. 1, 33-38 *J.H.S. Supp. Pap. I.* p. 128), and it is quite possible, whether he was the dedicator of the theatre thrones or not, that he brought back the idea of such a columned hall from the East. But it can have been only the general idea that was so brought to Megalopolis: the arrangement of the columns in the Thersilion is entirely different from that of its prototypes in the East, while the inward slope of the floor is also a new element. Thus, though this building may have owed its origin and shape to the East, its plan, as I will endeavour to show, is taken from a common Greek type, and is in fact simply that of a Greek theatre.

Mr. Gardner has already remarked that the Thersilion in its arrangement 'somewhat resembled a theatre' (*Megalopolis*, p. 70), and Dr. Dörpfeld has called it a 'theaterähnlicher Bau' (*Mit.* xvii. p. 98). These remarks however were based more on the general design of the building falling to the centre than on any detailed analysis of the plan. This general view of



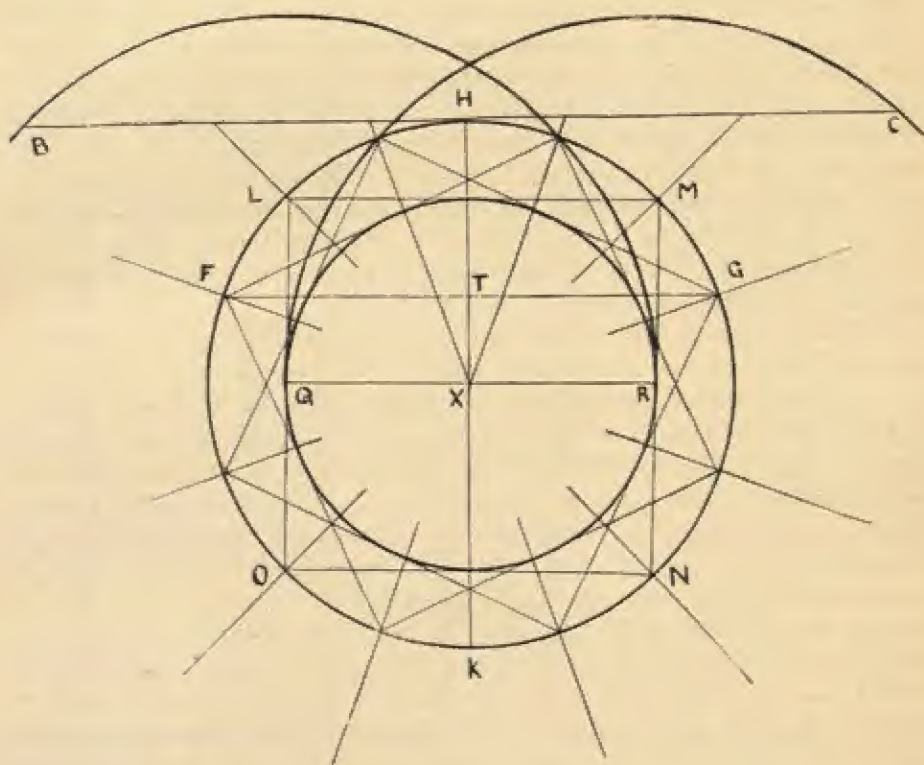
the design receives strong confirmation from the discovery of the relative heights of the column bases behind the centre. All the column bases on the line lettered *ABCD* of our plan (Pl. XXI.) are of equal height, the height that is of the bases of the third row of columns. Thus the rise to the outer row stops on each side of the building at the lines marked *EF* and *GH*. We have then a quadrangular building rising, roughly speaking, on three of its sides, while along the fourth we have a façade of columns returning at either end, so that between the lines *AB, CD* and the lines *EF, GH* are formed two passages between the rising and the level parts of the building, and these passages cannot have been higher than the line *ABCD*. How nearly these passages correspond to the *παροδοί* of a Greek theatre needs no further emphasis. And it is equally obvious that the line of columns *BC* takes exactly the place of the *frons scenae* of a Greek theatre. Under this supposition the space behind *BC* bears exactly the same relation to the Thersilion as the great portico does to the theatre. This will appear still more plainly when we come to deal with the geometrical development of the plan. At present it will suffice to point out that the difference in level between the centre columns of the building and those of the line *BC* is 2ft. 6in., and the distance between them being too small to admit of so steep a slope we are driven to suppose either three steps or a sudden drop in front of *BC* corresponding to the steps in front of the great portico.

Passing however from these points of general resemblance to a theatre we must next examine the plan more in detail. The first difficulty which meets us is how the builder adapted the circular plan of a Greek theatre to the quadrangular building and the question arises whether we can trace any circular plan in the Thersilion. This question will be best answered by an application of the canon of Vitruvius (v. 7). The following is a paraphrase of this passage, as I understand it. 'First in the lowest circle describe three squares with angles equidistant. Let that side of the square which is nearest to the *scena* form the front line of the *proscenium*. Next draw a tangent to the circle parallel to this line: this will be the front line of the *scena*. Draw a diameter of the *orchestra* parallel to the line of the *proscenium* and at its extremities where it cuts the circle (of the *orchestra*) take centres and with the diameter as radius draw two more circles, that described with the right hand centre limiting the *proscenium* on the right with the left hand on the left.'<sup>1</sup> This is all that concerns us for the present. The first question which presents itself is: Are the *ima circinatio* and the *orchestra* the same? and, if not, what is their relation to one another? Most writers nowadays identify them, an identification which leads us on to the startling paradox that in a Greek theatre one-seventh of the circle is cut off from the *orchestra* for the *proscenium* (v. *Megalopolis*, p. 77). Moreover in this interpretation lies all the difficulty which has led to the alteration of the reading and very many extraordinary translations of the Latin. Again Vitruvius seems to

<sup>1</sup> Here I follow the reading of the MSS. as others (v. *J.H.S.* xii. p. 360). against that of Rose and Müller-Strübing, and  
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me to have sufficiently guarded against this misconstruction, when he speaks of the Roman Theatre (v. 6): *et ab eo loco per centrum parallelos linea ducatur quae disjungat proscaenii pulpitum et orchestrae regionem*. Here he distinctly speaks of the orchestra as being a definite part of the *ima circinatio*; and it is to me inconceivable that in the very next chapter he should identify the two. Nor again can Vitruvius' orchestra be the remaining six-sevenths of the *ima circinatio* for the simple reason that the orchestra in a Greek theatre does not begin immediately at the bottom row of seats, whereas it is obviously a circle and has a centre. Vitruvius here is certainly quoting from some Greek authority and for Greek



readers it was unnecessary to say in so many words that the orchestra was a circle concentric with the *ima circinatio*.<sup>2</sup> What then I take to be the orchestra according to Vitruvius is contained in a circle inscribed in the square one line of which bounds the proscaenium. As the diameter in the Roman theatre separates proscaenium from orchestra, so it is with the side of the square in the Greek theatre. Whether the proscaenium was

<sup>2</sup> Here it is obvious that in most Greek theatres only the semicircle opposite the scena is an arc of the *ima circinatio*, but theoretically,

according to Vitruvius, the whole of the block of seats forms the arc of a circle.



raised in any way above the level of the orchestra is a question which need not be touched on here. The word means simply the part of the building before the scena, and it makes no difference to our plan whether it was raised or not.

To apply this canon however to the Thersilion. Take the centre  $X$  and with a radius of 32 Greek feet,<sup>3</sup> describe the circle which we may roughly call  $FGK$ . This circle just touches all the top bases of the fourth row except the corner ones and also the line  $BC$  is a tangent to the circle. In this circle describe the square  $LMNO$  of which the side  $LM$  is parallel to  $BC$ . Within the square describe a circle  $PQR$  and draw a diameter  $QR$  parallel to  $BC$  and  $LM$ . From centre  $Q$  at distance  $QR$  and from centre  $R$  at distance  $RQ$  describe circles. These, as will be seen by reference to the plan, fall just outside the points  $B$  and  $C$  respectively. The inner circle also, as will be seen on the plan, falls just outside the four centre columns.

Here I have endeavoured to carry out exactly the instructions of Vitruvius, and the result is striking enough. Taking the *ima circinatio* to be bounded by the fourth row of columns, the orchestra circle falls just outside the central four; the scena is a tangent to the *ima circinatio*, and both scena and proscenium are limited at the sides exactly in accordance with the law of Vitruvius.

Before I pass on to discuss the levels of the various parts of the building, there is still another instruction of Vitruvius to be dealt with. 'The staircases,' he says, 'are to be set at the angles of the three squares, and their number is to be doubled half way up.' Now in the Thersilion the rows of columns backed by the doors take the place of the staircases: both are lines useless for spectatorial purposes. But it is manifestly impossible in a rectangular building like the Thersilion to arrange the lines of columns exactly according to the rules of Vitruvius; for thus the inter-columniations at the corners being further from the centre would be greater than those in the middle of the same line. The architect's solution in this case was both simple and ingenious. Take  $HK$  diameter of the *ima circinatio* at right angles to  $BC$  or the scena: and from this cut off a third part  $HT$ . Through  $T$  draw a line parallel to  $BC$ . That line is  $GTF$ . Then in the circle describe two other squares with angles at  $G$  and  $F$  respectively. The angles of these squares together with those of the former square  $LMNO$  point exactly the lines of columns both in the auditorium and in the scena. Half way up originally in the second row but later in the third intermediate columns were added.

But it may be fairly asked: Where is any evidence for all these circles? The plan of the building is simply rectangular, and there is no necessity for the introduction of all these complications. It is a matter of cumulative evidence. In the first place it will not, I think, be questioned that the

<sup>3</sup> Here I adopt a Megalopolitan foot of 308 m., which is that shown by Mr. E. A. Gardner to have been the unit of measure used in the construction of this building.



original builder modelled the general scheme of his building on a theatre plan, and, the Greek theatre being planned on a circular scheme, it was almost impossible to do without the use of circles in its adaptation to a rectangular building. Secondly it has been shown with what exactitude the circular planning gives the position of almost every column in the building. In the third place we have to do with levels. A full discussion of the slope of the building is impossible for any but a trained architect, but there is one point which seems to me to point to a circular rising. Obviously in that case the corner bases of the various rows lying further away from the centre would necessarily be somewhat higher than the other bases of the same line, and this is exactly what we find to be the case. The corner bases of the fourth row lie  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches higher than the other bases in the line: those of the third row 6 inches higher; while in the second row the top bases at present in position are of tufa and so were certainly not meant to be seen at all. Though they are formed of a single block smaller than the double course under them, they probably supported another white limestone basis on the top, as a similar basis of one block is that of  $\alpha$  1. Allowing for a top basis 10 inches deep these bases would be  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches above their line. In the outermost row all the top bases are lost, so that it is impossible to calculate their original relative heights. I do not intend to enter into the question as to whether there was a regular series of steps on the floor or whether it was a simple slope.<sup>4</sup> My point is that the rise whatever it was cannot have been simply rectangular, as then the corner bases must have been on a level with the others of their line.

We next have to deal with a subject already touched on by Mr. Benson, namely that of the roofing of the building.

Here at first I will give a list of the tile-inscriptions found in the Thersilion.

(1) ΔΑΜΟCΙΟΙΑΡΧΙΝΟΥ (*Megalopolis*, p. 140, Nos. 6 and 9). Many additional fragments bearing the same inscription, or with the order of the words inverted, have been found during the last two seasons.

(2) (a) ΕΠΑΓΩΤΙΜΟΜΑ

(β) ΝΤΙΜΟΜΑ ΔΒΙΒ

(γ) ΜΟΜΑ (*Megalopolis*, p. 140).

(3) ΟCΙΟΙΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΥ

(4) ΠΑΓΩ

ΤΙΑΜΟ

(5) Α in a circular stamp.

(6) ΑΡΙCΙΤΑΝ

<sup>4</sup> This much, however, may be said. The layer of white chips mentioned by Mr. Benson as lying under the tile layer (not above it, as Mr. Schultz says, *Megalopolis*, p. 20), if not in itself a paving, at any rate gives us a floor level, and

that is a simple slope. It may indeed be an actual paving, as it is some two inches thick, and is spread in a regular layer over nearly all the building.



The last almost certainly has come originally from the stoa Aristandreios across the river. The latter part of 2 β and 5 are certainly numerals. Of the remainder No. 1 is simple. 'The public tile-works (or public tiles) managed by (or in the year of office of) Archinus.' Of Archinus we know nothing.

No. 2 is harder. Perhaps the unshortened inscription would be ἐπ' ἀγω(ροθετάσαντος) Τιμομά[χου, in the year when Timomachus was agonothetes. So too perhaps No. 4 --- ἐπ' ἀγω(ροθετάσαντος) Ἀντιδάμου.<sup>5</sup> Compare also *Megalopolis*, p. 140. No. 7 perhaps—ης ἐπ' ἀ(γωνοθετάσαντος) Ἀνδροπειδείδου. No. 8 τοῦ δεῖνα ἀγωνοθετάσα(ντος) δα(μόσιοι), and No. 11 which may be ἀγωνοθετάσα(ντος). Of the position of agonothetes at Megalopolis we know nothing: but from the fact that Antiochus held the office at the time of his dedication of the thrones of the theatre, it is certain that it was one of the most honourable in the town. Cf. also *Megalopolis* Inss. Nos. IX. and XXVI.

Finally we have No. 3. This may either mean 'public tiles from the fourth factory' or 'of the fourth tier of roofing.' This tile was found between the third and fourth rows of columns, over which would be the fourth tier of roofing if we suppose a roof sloping inwards to the centre from the wall, with lights between the roofs over each line of columns. This arrangement would moreover give light in every portion of the building. The objections to this however are twofold: in the first place, as Mr. Benson has pointed out, the water would drain off into the centre of the building: and secondly there is the structural difficulty; for there would be a danger that the inward thrust of the roof would be too great for the columns to bear.<sup>6</sup> Some such principle as this however was, I believe, the original one in the Thersilion: nor originally was the entire building roofed over. Here however of course our tile inscription can give us no evidence as it is of a much later date. A glance at the building will show three spaces which were likely on the original plan to have remained unroofed. In the first place there is the space between the 'orchestra' circle and the *ima circinatio*, and secondly there are the two passages leading into this, which correspond to the *parodoi* in a Greek theatre. Now I am quite at one with Mr. Benson in his argument as to the later roof of the building, when the intermediate columns of row *c* were added; but I cannot believe that the original builder would have placed a clerestory over an architrave with a span of 34 feet, which is that of the third row of columns before this addition.<sup>7</sup> From our consideration of the original design we have to eliminate altogether the later

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Richards (*Megalopolis*, p. 141) shows that the Δ form is simply a Megalopolitan Δ but in this inscription in order to read at all it must = ΔΑ.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Schultz, however, informs me that 'there would have been no danger from the thrust inwards if the roof principals were properly constructed and tied in... The load could

easily be made to bear vertically on the columns.'

<sup>7</sup> It is true, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Schultz, that these pillars carried wood beams or framed wooden girders, and so even with this span might have carried a great weight. But at the same time this, so far from being the strongest, is the weakest point in the building, and could never have been chosen to support a clerestory.



bases. We must then look for some other system; but before entering further into the question we must see if there are no other parts of the building which were later additions and did not belong to the original plan. There are, I think, two such additions. Of these the first has been already recognized, namely, the wall dividing the portico from the interior of the building. Originally there was a simple line of four columns behind the portico. But there was also another alteration made in the building which had something of the same character. It will at once be observed on our plan, that the passages or *πάροδοι*, unlike those in a Greek theatre, lead into blank walls. But this was not the case originally. It is only in the south-east corner of the building that we have any remains sufficient to draw conclusions from. But here we can, I think, say definitely that the part of the east wall between the south-east doorway and the south wall, together with the doorway itself, is not part of the original building. Our evidence for this again is cumulative but, I think, none the less sound. In the first place we have to do with the character of the masonry. As has been seen, the level of the column in the south-east corner of the building is not that of the rest of the outer row, but lower, coursing with the columns of the third row and with all those of the line *ABCD*. Nor can it be doubted that an architrave ran over it crossing from *B* to the corner of the building. From this it is evident that the level of the floor immediately in front of this line cannot have been set at the higher level of the outermost row of bases, but must have been at that of the line *AB*. We should have expected then along the piece of the east wall under discussion to have found a row of orthostatae similar to those of the adjoining south wall. None such exist however on the inner face of the wall, which is built of some of the smallest blocks used in the building. On the outer side indeed orthostatae are used but they are not of the same size as those of the south wall, being much thinner (v. *Megalopolis*, p. 22, Fig. 6). A glance at this same figure will also show that the two walls are not properly bonded together. The large outside corner block has simply been notched into to admit the inner block of the east wall. Probably originally its north face overlapped the unworked portion of the orthostatae block next to it. The fact that many of the half-cramp marks in this part of the building have no corresponding marks on other stones is sufficient evidence in itself that some radical alteration has been made from the first design.

Secondly the doorway *A* in Mr. Schultz's plan is different from all the other doorways in the building, being some two feet narrower (*Megalopolis*, p. 22). It is true that the reason for this may be that there would not be so many people entering and leaving by this door as by the others. These other doors come in the middle of the raised auditorium, whereas this comes at the end. Still I cannot believe that the original builder would not have made all the doors identical.

Thirdly if we suppose a break in the wall between the south-east corner and the point *E* on our plan, we are met at once by a number of coincidences. In the first place the anta so formed at the point *E* is exactly in



line with the column row *BC*. And hence it follows that the bearing of an architrave from this point to the south-east corner is equal to that from the line *BC* to the columns separating the hall from the portico: and this again is equal to the intercolumniations along the outermost row of columns. It is the greatest bearing of any architrave in the building, except that of the original third row, averaging 28 ft. 10 in. English measurement.<sup>8</sup>

I would suggest then that whether it was roofed over or not these parodoi were originally, as in a Greek theatre, open at the ends and formed probably the principal entrance into the building.<sup>9</sup> To return however to the question of roofing, which is not directly affected by these alterations; I do not see the impossibility of a roof sloping to the centre in the original design. This roof would end after the fourth column row while there may well have been a separate roof supported by the four central columns over the 'orchestra' circle. This arrangement would bring all the water of the building into the space between the *ima circinatio* and the orchestra; and supposing the plan to be modelled on that of a theatre this space just corresponds to the *ὄχετός*. It is true that no remains of any water channel have been discovered there; but as after the alterations the whole hall was undoubtedly roofed over, the arrangements for the water being no longer needed would naturally be removed.

Such then I take it was the adaptation of the theatre plan to a roofed rectangular hall built in the first half of the fourth century B.C.: and I think the evidence that the plan is that of a theatre is too strong to be overthrown entirely.

Only one other point arises. Supposing that the Thersilion is built as a theatre, does this throw any light on the stage question? Only negatively: it is obvious that the speaker stood in the lowest orchestra circle, not on any raised pulpitum. Probably the raised part behind *BC* was used for the seats of the committee or *δαμογγοί* or whatever committee corresponded to that body in the earliest years of the league.

I am very much indebted to Mr. Schultz, for reading this paper through and offering many criticisms and suggestions, many of which are embodied in the paper, while others are added as footnotes.

#### OTHER MINOR DISCOVERIES AT MEGALOPOLIS.

ON other sites at Megalopolis few finds of any value were made last spring. The most important of our discoveries necessitates a correction of

<sup>8</sup> It is true, as Mr. Schultz has reminded me, that the architrave here must have been of stone and not of wood, as in the interior building. But such a large gateway would naturally be divided by one or more central piers, just as in the case of the entrance from the theatre side; thus there would be no necessity for any

long bearing, while none of the symmetrical effect gained by the correspondence in width between the parodos and scena would be lost.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. E. A. Gardner has suggested to me that the cill course in these parts of the walls is probably original and formed the tread to gateways at the end of the parodoi.



Mr. Schultz's plan of the Stoa Philippeios (*Megalopolis*, Pl. XV.). In each of the projecting wings of this building only one internal row of columns is there marked, which gives a very irregular appearance to these parts of the structure. Acting on a suggestion offered to us by Dr. Dörpfeld on the occasion of his visit to Megalopolis, we made a digging to see whether there had not been a second row. This we found to be the case. This second row is the same distance from the inner returns of the wings and the two internal columns carrying on that return, that the other row is from the outer wall and anta (*i.e.* 17 ft.), the middle intercolumniation from centre to centre of the columns thus being 14 ft. Thus the plan of these wings, independently of the rest of the building, is that of an enneastyle façade covering a hall divided by two rows of three columns into three aisles, of which the middle one is the narrowest. The intercolumniation of the two internal rows covers two of the façade, the two side aisles three.

At the S.W. end of the Stoa Philippeios, and south of the building numbered 26 on Mr. Loring's Plan of Megalopolis (*Megalopolis*, Pl. I.), we discovered remains of a columned building of rather late date, which, like that figured on the plan, probably formed part of the gymnasium. In one corner of the building, set between two column bases, was a well from which a line of water pipes ran for some distance towards the river. There is much late building over the site; but there are also some remains of a good conglomerate wall carrying on the line from the corner of the Philippeios Stoa towards the river. The column bases are of the usual white limestone, but they have no lower bases under them, and they all have the two late lead-run dowel holes.

To the south of this building, in the part marked 'Tempelbezirk der grossen Göttinnen' on Curtius' Plan (reproduced in *Megalopolis*, p. 102), we made some experimental diggings; but, beyond a network of Byzantine walls and a tile waterpipe similar to that leading into the temenos of Zeus Soter, nothing was found. One of these tiles bore the inscription ΠΑΙΗΜΙΟΠΟΛΙΦ, Φιλοποίμην Δι. As in many other cases, the inscription was written forwards on the stamp, and so reads backwards on the tile. There is nothing in the inscription to prevent our attributing it to the great Philopoemen. Probably this water ran to water the grove behind the temple of Zeus Philios, which lay inside the temenos (Paus. viii. 21, 4-5). Unfortunately, however, only twenty yards of the pipe remain; after that it is cut into by Byzantine walls at either end, and does not reappear.

Other inscriptions found at Megalopolis this year are:

(1) Tiles picked up in the Stoa Philippeios.

ΙΑΙΤΞ  
ΔΥΟ

'Ε]στ'α δύο.

Nothing is known of any Hestia worship in Megalopolis.



(2) Tiles found in the building S.W. of the Stoa Philippeios.

ΕΛΑΤ  
ΓΑΛ

Ἐλατ . . . Μεγαλοπόλιται.

Ἐλάτης was a title of Poseidon at Athens (Hesych. *s.v.*), but the first line of the inscription may be only a man's name.

ΟΜΙ Α  
ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟ

. . . ? Πολυβίου.

Either this might be the date of the office of some Polybius, or the tile might come from the building near the temenos of Zeus Lykaïos, where a statue of Polybius stood (Paus. viii. 30, 8).

ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΣ

A statue of Asclepius stood in the neighbouring temenos of the great goddesses (*Id.* 31, 1).

(3) Tile found on the hill marked 7 in Mr. Loring's plan.

ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΣ

Νικομάχο[ν ἀγωνοθετοῦ].

(4) The torso of a Herm-like statue of Poseidon, found near the spot marked 60 on Mr. Loring's plan. The inscription is on the cross-piece of a trident, which decorates the front of the statue.

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΩ  
ΔΑΜΟΦΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

Ποσειδᾶνι ἀσφαλείῳ  
Δαμοφῶν ἀνέθηκε(ν).

For the epithet of ἀσφάλειος cf. Paus. iii. 11, 9, vii. 21, 7; Strabo, i. p. 57; Opp. *Hal.* v. 681; Ar. *Ach.* 682 and Schol.; Plut. *Thes.* 36; *C.I.G.* 2347h and 4443.

A. G. BATHER.



## AETOLIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

A SINGULARLY small contribution has been made by Aetolia to the vast and steadily growing mass of our epigraphical treasures. This seems to be due to two reasons,—a real dearth of inscriptions traceable in part to the character of the Aetolians themselves, and, secondly, the comparative neglect that Aetolia has suffered at the hands of travellers and archaeologists. The inscriptions given here are the results of a detailed exploration extending over part of each of the two years 1892 and 1893.

A large proportion, and those the most interesting of the inscriptions found, come from Naupaktos, or its immediate neighbourhood. This valuable maritime station was, as is well known, put by Athens into the possession of the exiled Messenians and with the downfall of her Empire it passed into the hands of the Achaean allies of Sparta: they seem to have kept it in spite of all the efforts of the Aetolians and it was not until 338 B.C. that its natural owners finally regained it by the gift of Philip of Macedon. From that time onwards Naupaktos played an important part in the history of the League. Pausanias visited the town and among its antiquities he mentions the ruins of a temple of Asklepios of some reputation. The site of this temple has been identified from the inscriptions cut in the face of a rock forming the back of a terrace near the springs called Kephalóvrysis, a few minutes' walk to the east of the town. The few fragments which are all that can now be deciphered of the numerous inscriptions which once covered the rock are given by R. Weil in his paper 'Das Asklepieion von Naupaktos,' *Mitth. des deutsch. Inst.* vol. iv. p. 22. One of them contains the name of Chalepos an Aetolian Strategos, a native of Naupaktos, who dates also one of the Delphian Emancipation deeds, but his year of office is as yet unknown. It must in all probability be placed before 198 B.C. It is from this temple's records that the five following inscriptions are derived. They were dug up on the terrace.

1.—On a limestone block, 2 feet long, in a step outside the house of Konstantinos Loukópoulos, who also possesses the next fragment. The block is slightly chipped at each end but no letters are lost excepting the last letters of lines 5-7. A few more lines are probably hidden by the step above the one formed by this block and its companion No. 2. The letters, about 1" high, are very beautifully cut,



- ΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΡΙ  
 ΧΟΝΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ ΑΠΕΔΟ  
 ΤΟ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ ΑΥΓΑΚΤΙΑΣ ΩΜΑΓΥΝΑΙ  
 ΚΕΙΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΟΜΑ ΠΡΑΞΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΔΑΡΙΟΝ ΑΥ-  
 5 ΤΑΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΣΚΥΡΙΟΙΤ  
 ΑΣ ΚΛΑΠΙΩΙΤΩΙ ΕΝΝΑΥΓΑΚΤΩΙ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟ  
 ΨΒΕΒΑΙΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΔΑΜΟΚΡ  
 ΤΗΣ ΝΑΥΓΑΚΤΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ ΦΙΛΩΝ  
 ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΗΣ ΣΑΤΥΡΙΝΟΣ  
 10 ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΕΩΝΟΣ ΦΥΣΑΛΟΣ ΑΡ

- Στραταγέοντος Δικαιάρχου Τρι-  
 χονίου, μηνὸς Ἰπποδρομίου, ἀπέδο-  
 το Ἐπικράτεια Ναυπακτία σῶμα γυναι-  
 κείον αἰ ὄνομα Πράξω καὶ τὸ παιδάριον αὐ-  
 5 τῆς Ἡρακλειοδώρον, τὸ γένος Σκύριοι, τῶι  
 Ἀσκληπιῶι τῶι ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ἀργυρίῳ  
 Ψ. Βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Δαμοκρί-  
 τῆς Ναυπάκτιος. Μάρτυρες, Φίλων  
 Φαίδιμον, Περιγένης, Σατυρίνος,  
 10 Νικίας Νικολέωνος, Φύσαλος, Ἀρ . . .

2.—Limestone block, about 2 feet long, found with No. 1. In order to fit it into the step where it now lies a good deal has been cut off at each end, but a comparison with No. 1 makes the restorations easy and certain: only the month is missing and that is unfortunate as it might have supplied the only one wanting in the Aetolian calendar. The reading Ἄμοι... in line 6 is not certain: it seemed possible that it should be read Ἀμβι... The letters are like those of No. 1.

- ΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟ ΔΕ  
 ΟΣ ΔΕ ΘΕΑΡΟΙΣ ΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΑ  
 ΟΥ ΑΠΕΔΟΤΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΣΝΑΥΓΛ  
 ΙΝΑΥΓΑΚΤΟΙΣ ΩΜΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΝ ΔΙΟΝ  
 5 ΝΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΟΥΤΙ ΜΑΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ Μ  
 ΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΕΥΔΙΚΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΙ  
 ΤΥΡΟΙΔΥΚΟΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΔΑΜΕΑΣ ΝΛ  
 ΣΦΙΛΩΝΔΙΣΧΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΩΝΦ  
 ΣΝΙΚΟΛΕΩΝΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΟΣ  
 10 ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ

Στραταγέοντος Δα]μοκρίτου Καλυδωνίου τὸ δεῦτερον,  
 γραμματεύοντος δὲ θεαροῖς Δαμονίκου τοῦ Δα . . .  
 μηνὸς . . . ]ον ἀπέδοτο Φιλοστέφανος Ναυπά[κτιος τῶι  
 Ἀσκληπιῶι τῶι ἐ]ν Ναυπάκτῳ σῶμα γυναικείον αἰ ὄν[ουα



- 5 . . . τὸ γέ]νος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄθου, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου Μ . . .  
 βεβαιωτῆρ κ]ατὰ τὸν νόμον, Εὐδίκος Ἄμοι . . .  
 Μάρτυρες Ε]ὐροίδυκος Πύρρον, Δαμέας, Να . . .  
 . . . ς, Φίλων Δίσχρίωνος, Φίλων Φ[αίδιμον,  
 Νικία]ς Νικολέωνος, Δαμόνικος.  
 10 ἀ ὡνά] παρὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας . . . .

The two generals named in the two inscriptions are well-known figures in Aetolian history. They appear together in 198 B.C. as members of the embassy then sent to Rome, Pol. xvii. 10. Dikaiarchos was Strategos of the League in 195-4 B.C.: cf. Haussoullier, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 408, where many examples with his date are given from Delphi. In 193 B.C. he was sent to incite king Antiochos to war with Rome.

Trichonion is the important village of Gavalouí on the south shores of lake Trichonis, the most easterly of the two lakes lying in the centre of Aetolia. Several inscriptions are found there, which are given below, and the place seems full of antiquities though there are but scanty remains of its akropolis left. This town gave several Strategoi to the League besides Dikaiarchos: Proxenos, Thoas, and Nikandros were all natives of Trichonion.

Damokritos came from Kalydon, a town identified chiefly with Heroic Aetolia. Oineus, Tydeus, and Meleager throw round it a poetical splendour, but in later history it is almost unheard of. Augustus removed its population to Nikopolis and presented their statue of Artemis Laphria to Patras. Damokritos was Strategos for the first time in 200 B.C., cp. *Bull. l.c.* where similar deeds are given dated by his first, and also by his second year of office, in Nos. 15, 26, 27. He was elected for the second time in the autumn of 193 B.C. and the Roman legate T. Quinctius found him in office during the following year: Livy xxxv. 33. Livy reports his boastful answer to Flamininus when asked by him to furnish the decision of the Aetolian Assembly in writing. He would let him have it, he replied, when he and his Aetolians pitched their camp on the banks of the Tiber. It would be with far different feelings that the Aetolian general did behold Tiber's stream. He was taken alive at the fall of Herakleia, after a brave defence, and sent with his brother to work in the Italian quarries, destined when the time came to grace the triumph of Glabrio his conqueror: Livy xxxvii. 3. A few days before this crowning agony he managed to escape, but overtaken at the Tiber, he fell upon his sword and so died: *id.* cap. 46.

3.—Slab 2' × 1' at same house: broken at left hand: nothing wanting on right nor below last line on this part of the slab which is preserved. Lettering neat, 1" high.

ΣΗΜΑΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΜΝΑΝ]ΜΒΕΒΑΙΟΙ  
 ΝΟΜΟΝΑΛΕΞΙΑΔΑΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΣ  
 ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΦΙΛΩΝΛΥΚΟΣΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΣ  
 ΞΩΝΑΠΑΡΑΛΥ////ΣΙΑΝΤΟΝΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ  
 ΛΟΥΤΟΥΑΣΚ////ΛΑΠΙΟΥΛΥΚΟΥΤΟΥ



τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν ὙΜ. Βεβαιοῖ  
κατὰ τὸν] νόμον Ἀλεξιάδας, Ναυπάκτιος.  
Μάρτυρες Ἀ]λέξανδρος, Φίλων, Λύκος, Λυκίσκος.  
ἀ]ὐτὰ παρὰ Λυσίαν τὸν ἄρχοντα  
... λου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Λύκου τοῦ  
...

4.—Square fragment in steps at same place: mutilated on all four sides; letters 1½" high, deeply cut and very regular.

Τίμ]αιος Ἀρίστων  
Μάρ]τυροι Μεναρ  
Ἀλ]έξανδρος Τη  
Λεοντομένης  
Στράτωνος  
Λίσ]χρίων Ἀρίστω  
φυλ]ίσσοντι Λεον  
σίας Ταυρι

5.—Triangular fragment in threshold of yard-door of Christos Loukópoulos, brought from the same place as preceding inscriptions. A good deal is broken from each end, but the space of clear stone below the last line shows that this line ended the inscription. Letters fair, 1" high. The reading in l. 6 is certain whatever it may mean.

ΛΕΙΚΑΤΑ  
ΡΕΣΤΙΜΟΛ  
ΣΛΥΚΟΣΦΟΡΜΙΩΝΑ  
ΑΠΩΝΔΙΟΠΕΙΘΗΣΣΤΡΑ  
5 ΛΗΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΙΔΑΜΟΚΡΙΤ  
ΩΝΑΓΓΑΡΑ////////ΤΕΛΕΣΤΑΝΑΡΙ

κατα  
μάρτυ]ρες Τιμολ  
Λύκος Φορμίων Ἀ  
απὼν Διοπέιθης Στρα  
5 λης Ναυπάκτιοι Δαμοκριτ  
ἀ]ὐτὰ παρὰ τελες τᾶν ἀρ[χόντων

If we follow the road which leads east from Naupaktos we reach, after passing the terrace on which stood the temple of Asklepios, a rocky isolated hillock now occupied by the church of St. George. This is perhaps the site of the temple of Aphrodite which Pausanias mentions. Beyond this the plain runs up among the hills to the left like a bay. Its eastern boundary is the Morno, the ancient Euenos. At the head of the bay in the hills is the gorge of the torrent called Skâ. Some way up its course it receives the



waters of a second torrent, that of Old Skála. The path along the mountain side above this *ῥεῦμα τῆς Παλαιόσκαλας*, to give it its modern Greek name, is very difficult but it brings us to a moderately level and open space about half way up towards the source of the stream. This is the place called Longá. It is hard to believe that there can be any vestiges of antiquity about, but if we climb down to the torrent itself we see the remains of two retaining walls built to preserve the terrace above from encroachments by the water. It is in fact a temple site as the inscriptions found at it prove. The shrine has been built on the very brink of the foaming torrent, for it is clearly impossible for the stream to have changed its course much as the banks opposite the temple site are almost perpendicular cliffs. A wilder and more unlikely site for a temple it would be hard to find, or one more difficult to reach, yet it seems to have been a place of no little reputation. The villagers of new Skála, which lies on the mountain side about two hours away, tried not long ago to excavate the site secretly, and did in fact uncover some half dozen fallen columns which they said were all inscribed; but a fall of earth and calcareous deposit from a stream on the level ground above put an end to their investigations, but not before they had thrown one piece of a column about 7 feet long into the bed of the torrent below. Happily all else is safely preserved under the landslip. Owing to the difficulty of moving the column round in the absence of appliances only a few of the inscriptions covering it could be copied—perhaps a third of the whole number. Most of them will be given in cursive with restorations. The necessary space on the column appears to have been dressed smooth as required, and not much care seems to have been exercised to avoid injuring a neighbouring inscription: of course after a few years the contract would be fulfilled by both parties to it and there would be no great necessity for keeping the record in all its integrity. There is a good deal of variation in the size of the letters in any one inscription and in the size employed in the different inscriptions. Some again are very neat and careful, others rude in the extreme; but this variation, at any rate here, seems to be due to the greater or less skill of the stone-cutter. It looks almost as if sometimes a man could not afford to employ a skilled cutter but tried his own 'prentice hand with somewhat indifferent results.

- 6.—ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ  
 ΘΕΑΡΟΙΣΦΙΛΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΣΛΣΙΑΕΝ  
 ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΟΙΜΗΝΟΣΕΥΘΥΑΙΟΥΑΓΓΕ  
 ΔΟΣΑΤΥΡΟΣΜΕΝΥΟΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΣ  
 5 ΤΟΙΑΣΚΛΑΠΤΟΙΤΟΙΕΝΚΡΟΥΝΟΙΣΠΑΙ  
 ΔΑΡΙΟΝΟΙΟΝΟΜΑΣΛΣΑΣΚΑΙΚΟΡΑ  
 ΣΙΟΝΑΙΟΝΟΜΑΣΛΣΛΓΕΝΟΣΟΙ  
 ΚΟΓΕΝΗΤΙΜΑΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΕΚΑΤΕ  
 ΡΑΤΗΜΕΓΓΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΙΠΑΡΑ  
 10 ΜΕΙΝΑΤΛΣΑΝΔΕΣΛΣΑΛ



15 ΚΑΙΣΩΣΩΠΑΡΑΣΑΤΥΡΟΝΚΑΙ  
 ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΓΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΑΥΤΟΥΤΟ  
 ΕΟΝΤΕΣΤΟΕΠΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΙ  
 ΔΕΜΗΠΑΡΑΜΕΙΝΑΙΣΑΝΑΤΕΩΝΑ  
 ΑΤΕΛΗΣΕΣΤΩΚΑΙΟΠΡΟΑΠΟΔΟΤΑΣ  
 ΜΗΒΕΒΑΙΟΥΤΩΠΡΟΑΠΟΔΟΤΑΣΕΠΙ  
 ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΛΑΜΙΟΣ  
 // // // // ΛΕΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΕΟΣΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣ  
 20 // // // // ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΙΔΑΦΝΩΝΣΩΣΙΑΣ  
 ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥΣΗΣΙΒΙΟΣΕΥΒΟΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΠ  
 ΠΟΣΝΑΥΓΑΚΤΙΟΙΛΑΜΙΟΣΝΕΑΙΟΣ  
 ΑΜΥΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΜΕΙΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ  
 ΔΑΜΕΑΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΠΕΥΡΩΝΑΛΕ  
 ΞΙΔΑΜΟΣΟΑΡΧΩΝΤΑΝΩΝΑΝΦΥ  
 25 ΛΑΣΣΟΝΤΙΑΛΕΞΙΔΑΜΟΣΟΑΡΧΗΝ  
 ΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣΚΑΙΣΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ  
 ΝΑΥΓΑ// // // // ΚΤΙΟΣ ΧΚΑ

Ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι γραμματεύοντος  
 θεαροῖς Φίλωνος τοῦ Σωσία ἐν  
 Ναυπάκτοι, μηνὸς Εὐθυαίου ἀπέ-  
 δοτο Σάτυρος Μενύος Ναυπάκτιος  
 5 τῷ Ἀσκληπιοῖ τῷ ἐν κρουνοῖς παι-  
 δάριον δι ὄνομα Σωσᾶς καὶ κορά-  
 σιον αἰ ὄνομα Σωσῶ, γένος οἰ-  
 κογενῇ, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου ἑκάτε-  
 ρα Πημ, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι, παρα-  
 10 μεινάτωσαν δὲ Σωσᾶς  
 καὶ Σωσῶ παρὰ Σάτυρον καὶ  
 Ἀγαθὸν τὰν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ πο-  
 εόντες τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον εἰ  
 δὲ μὴ παραμείναισαν ἅ τε ὦνὰ  
 15 ἀτελὲς ἔστω καὶ ὁ προαποδότας  
 μὴ βεβαιούτω. Προαποδότας ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λάμιος  
 Λεοντομένεος, Βούττιος .  
 Μάρτυροι, Δάφνων Σωσίας  
 20 Τηλέφου, Σωσίβιος Εὐβοῆς, Κάλλιπ-  
 πος, Ναυπάκτιοι· Λάμιος, Νεαῖος,  
 Ἀμύνανδρος, Ἀμεινοκράτης,  
 Δαμέας, Ἀντίοχος, Πευρῶν, Ἀλε-  
 ξίδαμος ὁ ἄρχων. Τὰν ὦνὰν φυ-  
 25 λᾶσσουντι Ἀλεξίδαμος ὁ ἄρχων,  
 Βούττιος, καὶ Σωσίας Τηλέφου,  
 Ναυπάκτιος.



- 7.—ΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΛΑΔΙΚΟΥ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΕΟΣ  
 ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΕΝΒΟΥΤΤΟΙ  
 ΛΟΥΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΚΥΚΛΙΟΥ ΑΠΕΔΟΝΤΟ  
 ΔΑΣΣΗΣΙΧΑ ΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΙ ΤΩΙΑΣΚΑΠΤΙ  
 5 ΛΙΤΛΙΕΝΚΡΟΥΝΟΙΣ ΠΑΙΔΑΡΙΟΝ ΟΙΟΝ ΟΜΑ  
 ΛΑΟΣ ΕΠΤΕΛ /// ΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΙ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΟΙ  
 ΚΟΓΕΝΗΤΕΙΜΑΣΑ /// ΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ ΜΜΜ ΒΕΒΑΙ  
 ΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΛΑΜΙΟΣ ΣΛΕΟΝΤΟ  
 ΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΑΔΑΣ  
 10 ΜΙΚΚΑΔΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΜΕΝΩΝ  
 ΝΦΙΛΩΝΤΙ ΜΟΛΑΟΣ ΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΚΙΣΩΝ  
 ΑΔΑΣ ΔΑΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ ΤΙΜΑΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΙ  
 ΙΣΟΣ ΣΠΑΤΡΩΣ ΚΥΔΡΙΩΝ ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΩ  
 ΩΝ ΑΝΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΝΤΙ ΟΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ  
 15 ΛΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΘΡΑΣΩΝ ΑΜΕΙ  
 ΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΔΑΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ ΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΙ

Στραταγέοντος Λαδίκου, Ἀρσινοέος  
 τὸ] δεύτερον, ἄρχοντος δὲ ἐν Βουττῶι  
 ... λου, μηνὸς Προκυκλίου, ἀπέδοντο  
 ... δας Σωσίχα, Βούττιοι, τῶι Ἀσκ[λ]απι-

- 5 ῶι τῶι ἐν κρουνοῖς παιδάριον, δι ὄνομα  
 ... λαος, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι, τὸ γένος οἰ-  
 κογενή, τειμᾶς ἀργυρίου ΜΜΜ. Βεβαι-  
 ωτήρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λάμιος Λεοντο-  
 μένεος, Βούττιος. Μάρτυροι, Ἀλεξιάδας,  
 10 Μικκάδας, Ἀριστόμαχος, Μένων,  
 ... ν, Φίλων, Τιμόλαος, Λέων, Ἀρκίσων,  
 ... αδας, Δαμόξενος, Τίμαιος, Βούττιοι  
 ... ισος, Σπάτρως, Κυδρίων, Ναυπάκτιοι.  
 τὰν] ὧν ἀν φυλάσσουντι οἱ ἄρχοντες,  
 15 ... λος, Ἀμύνανδρος, Θράσων Ἀμει-  
 κράτης, Δαμόξενος, Βούττιοι.

- 8.—Στραταγέοντος τῶν Λίτωλῶν Τριχᾶ Στρα-  
 τίου β' ἐν δὲ Βουττῶι ἄρχοντος Λαμίου  
 τοῦ Ἀλεξομένου, μηνὸς Εὐθυαίου ἀπέ-  
 δοτο Μικκίων, Βούττιος, τῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι  
 5 τῶι ἐν κρουνοῖς σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον, δι ὄνο-  
 μα Φιλόξενος, τὸ γένος Ἀμφίλοχον,  
 τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου ΠΜΜΜ. Βεβαιωτήρ  
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λάμιος Λεοντομένε-  
 ος, Βούττιος. Παραμενέτω δὲ Φιλόξε[ν]-  
 10 ος παρὰ Μικκίωνα ἄς κα ζῇ Μικκίων



- ποιῶν τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ποέ-  
 οι, ἀτελὴς ἂ ὦν ἔστω· εἰ δὲ τί κα παθῇ  
 Μικκίων τόκα ἂ ὦν κυρία ἔστω καὶ  
 ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ βεβαιούτω τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ.  
 15 Μάρτυροι, Μένων, Φίλων, Νεαῖος  
 . . . ος, Σκορπίων, Εὐριπίδας, Βούττιοι·  
 Σάτυρος, Ἀντικράτης, Πολύξενος,  
 Πολύαρχος, Ναυπάκτιοι. Τὰν ὦν ἂν  
 φυλάσσουντι Λάμιος ὁ ἄρχων, Δα-  
 20 μόξενος, Βούττιοι.

A Trichas is named as *ieroμνήμων* in an inscription from Delphi *circa* 229 B.C., *vid.* Dittenberg, *Syll.* p. 285, but we know nothing of the one here mentioned as Strategos.

- 9.—Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐμήλου ἐν Βο[υττῷ,  
 μὴνὸς Ἰπποδρομίου, ἀπέδοτο [Νικό-  
 στ]ρατος, Βούττιος, τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ τῷ [ἐν  
 κρο]υνοῖς, σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον, ὡς ὄνο[μα Σω . . . τὸ  
 5 γένος] οἰκογενῇ, τειμᾶς ἀργυρίου ΠΠ.  
 Βεβαιω]τὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Δαμόξ[ενος,  
 Βούττιος· παραμενέτω [δὲ Σω . . . παρὰ  
 Νικόστρατον ἃς κα ζῇ Νικόσ[τρατος ποέων  
 τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον· εἰ [δὲ τί κα παθῇ  
 10 Νικόστρατος, τόκα ἂ ὦν [κυρία ἔστω καὶ  
 ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ βεβαιούτω.  
 Εἰ δὲ τι μὴ πειθαρχέοι Σω . . . . .  
 ἐπιτι]μέων Νικόστρα [τος τρόπῳ ὡς κα  
 θέλῃ κύριος ἔστω. Μάρτ[υροι  
 15 Τίμαιος, Μικκάδας, Ἀρίστων,  
 Εὐριπίδας, Φίλων, Λυκίσκος  
 Ἀλεξιμάδας, Πετραῖος.  
 Τὰν ὦν φυλάσσουντι οἱ ἄρχ[οντες  
 Εὐμηλος, Ἀμύνανδρος,  
 20 Βούττιοι.

This inscription is a good instance of the way in which the cutter has been obliged to adapt his lines to the space at his command. The first seven lines are longer than those below them, which gradually contract in length towards the bottom. The letters missing on the right and left hand sides are worn away by the action of water.

- 10.—Γραμματεύοντος θεαροῖς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ  
 Φίλωνος τοῦ Σωσία, μὴνὸς Ἀγνείου, Θράσων  
 Εὐξενίδα, Βούττιος, ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐλευθε-  
 ραίαι τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ τῷ ἐν κρουνοῖς, σῶμα ἀν-  
 5 δρεῖον ὡς ὄνομα Εὐβουλίδας, τὸ γένος Σύρον,



- τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου ΜΜΜΜ. Προσποδότης κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λάμιος Εὐξενίδα, Βούττιος. Μάρτυροι, Δαμόξενος, Φίλων, Ἀντίοχος, Σκορπίων, Λεοντομένης, Καλλιάδας, Λάμιος Λεοντομένης, Κασόνικος, Λέων, Ζωπυρίων, Γάστρων, Λάμιος Εὐξενίδα, Βούττιον Ἀμύνανδρος Τεισάνδρου, Ναυπάκτιος. Τὰν ὄνᾶν φυλάσσουντι οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Βουττίων Ἀγριάδας, Ἀλεξίδαμος.

11.—This inscription occurs on a large slab, apparently a door-post, about 7' long, lying under the mass of earth which has fallen upon the remains. It is evidently covered with inscriptions. I tried to completely excavate the stone by tunnelling, but my utmost endeavours only enabled me to copy the two uppermost records. They are in similar lettering to those given from the column. The slab is unbroken but it is not always easy to make out the letters owing to the heavy deposit of lime which covers them.

- Γραμματε]ύοντος θεαροῖς Φίλωνος τοῦ Σωσία  
μηνὸς Διονυσίου, ἀπέδοτο Νικιάδας Ν[ε]κο-  
δέμου, Πώριος, κορύδιον δι ὄνομα Ἰστιάης τῷ  
Ἀσκληπιῷ τῷ ἐν κρουνοῖς, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου  
5 ΜΜΜ. Βεβαιωτῆρες κατέστασε κατὰ τὸν νόμον  
Λέωνα Ἀρχέλαον, Πωρίους. Τὰν ὄνᾶν φυλάσσουντι οἱ ἄρχοντες. Μάρτυροι, Φιλλίδας, Ἀρχέλαος, Φλώρος, Θρασύλαος, Τελέσαρχος, Ξένων, Πανκράτης, Πώριοι.

12.—On same slab as No. 11 and immediately below it.

- Γραμματε]ύοντος θεαροῖς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀριστοκράτεος τοῦ Παρμενίδα, μηνὸς Ἀθαναίου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀρχόντων ἐν Βουττῷ Ἀλεξιάδα, Τιμαίου, ἀπέδοντο  
5 Ἀνδρῷ Ἀριστάρχῳ, Ἀνδρῷ Οἶκα ///α, Φυλλαῖαι, σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον, δι ὄνομα Κόσμος, τὸ γένος Θράικα, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ τῷ ἐν κρουνοῖς, ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τριῶν, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι. Βεβαιωτῆρες κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σάτυρος Ἀριστοβούλου, Ἀντίοχος, Φυλλαῖοι. Μάρτυροι, Τείσων, Ἀρώπων, Θασύλας, Ἀριστόβουλος, Ἀρκίσιος, Νείκαρχος, Πανσανίας, Φυλλαῖοι.  
10 Ἀλεξιάδας, Βούττιος, Λέων ὁ ἄρχων. Τὰν ὄνᾶν φυλάσσουντι Ἀλεξιάδας, Βούττιος,  
15 Ἀρίστων, Φυλλαῖος.



13.—On a fragment broken from the lower corner of a quadrangular base of some kind. There is much missing on the right hand side of  $\alpha$  and the left hand side of  $\beta$  the adjacent side. Letters poor and careless. Deposited in the house of Christos Tasópoulos, Naupaktos.

( $\beta$ )	( $\alpha$ )
$\alpha$	ἐπιτασ
Nav	τὸν νόμ[ον . . . . . Μάρ-
υλας	τυροι Ἀμ
σθεω	λων Ἐλαφ [. . . . . Nav-
	5 πάκτιοι. Τὰν [ὧρὰν φυλάσσουντι
	τίων, Λεοντομέν[ης . . . .
	Δαμέας· ἐν δὲ Ναυπ[άκτῳ
	κος Νικοδάμου θεο . . . .

These new deeds of enfranchisement do not add anything to what is already known from the numerous examples found at Delphi. The essentials in which all agree are these. The deed is dated either by the Strategos of the Aetolian League or by the local magistrate alone, or by both together. There seems to have been no fixed rule, though attempts have been made to formulate one. Obviously it is most valuable to us to find the name of the Strategos. The master sells his slave for a certain sum to the god, who by making no claim upon the services of his newly acquired servant thereby frees him. Certain conditions may be added which must be fulfilled by the slave: he may, for example, be required to remain with his master for a certain number of years or, again, the emancipation may not come into effect until after his master's death. As it is a contract the seller is bound by law to furnish one or more guarantors that he will keep to his bargain, not afterwards claiming the services of the slave he has liberated nor refusing to set him free after he has fulfilled all the stipulations agreed upon. In places like Chaironeia or Dodona, where emancipation takes place under the form of a dedication to the god or by declaration before the people assembled, no sureties are required, only witnesses, as that is a formal act and not a contract. Publicity is secured in all cases in two ways, by the presence of several witnesses, the number of whom seems quite arbitrary, and by writing the contract in stone in or about the temple.

Two contributions to history and topography are made by the inscriptions from Skála. From No. 8 we get the name of Trichas of Stratos, and from No. 7 that of Ladikos of Arsinoe, both hitherto unknown Aetolian Strategoi who each held the office twice. When, we can only guess. A. Mommsen, *Philologus* xxiv. 1, has been able to compile from the Delphian inscriptions an almost complete list of the Aetolian Strategoi for the period 198-168 B.C., and this has had some additions made to it from the inscriptions published by Haussoullier, *Bull. l.c.*, but these two names do not occur in this list and as the character does not indicate an anterior date we must regard them as Strategoi of the later years of the League. That the κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν did not



suffer the total extinction represented by Pausanias vii. 16, 9 *συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος τὰ ἐκάστων, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἢ Βοιωτοῖς ἢ ἐτέρωθί που τῆς Ἑλλάδος, κατελέλυτο ὁμοίως πάντα*, is proved by an inscription from Kalydon, given by Cousin *l.c.* p. 183, which dates from the Sullan period.

Secondly we recover the names of minor divisions of the Aetolians. If it is right to regard the Evenos as the division between the Ophieis and the Apodoti, the Bouttii are a section of the former, like the Bomieis and the Kallieis.

No. 11 gives us the Phyllaii and No. 12 the Porii: as to their situation nothing can be said.

The remainder of the inscriptions published are from grave stelai principally and of little importance.

14.—On rough slab of brown stone found in the ruins of the castro of Soulé, two hours east of Naupaktos. Letters  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high, stone very much worn but complete. The inscription has now been put in the demarcheion after forming part of the pavement of a threshing-floor for years. This seems to be the site identified by Leake as that of Oineon which was the starting-point of the disastrous expedition of Demosthenes into Apodotia in 426 B.C. Thucydides iii. 94 says that the army spent the night near the temple of Nemean Zeus. The remains are fairly extensive and the foundations of several public buildings seem recognizable. The inscription given is a dedication to Aphrodite.

ΦΕΙΔΩΝ  
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΙ

Φείδων  
Ἀφροδίτα.

15.—On slab of grey sandstone lying near some graves below the ruins of Belbina about two hours west of Naupaktos. The lettering is careless and varies in size, the two upper lines being three inches high, the lower two. Bazin calls the site Makynia.

Δ  
ΔΡΑΙΚΩ  
ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ

Δ.  
Δράικω  
Νικολάου.

16.—To the north of Naupaktos and north-west lay the district occupied by the Ophieis or Ophioneis who appear to have extended as far eastwards as the Maliac gulf. The district which now bears the name of Krávari seems to correspond roughly to their country. It is almost destitute of remains, but near the junction of the river of Styliá with the Phidaris I found the following inscription at the mill of Nikolaos Makrijanni. The letters are beautifully cut on a stele of hard white veined stone, with a moulding above them.

ΚΡΙΝΟΛΑΟΥ

Κρινολάου.



17.—East of Styliá and almost in the centre of Krávari is the large village of Megále-Lobotiná. About 1½ hours to the north is the ruined monastery of St. Dimitrios near which is a palaiócastro. The following rudely cut inscription is found there. Incorrectly published by Bazin *Mémoire sur l'Étolie*, 1861.

ΝΙΚΑΝΟΡ  
ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑΣ  
ΠΟΛΕ  
ΜΑΙΟΥ

Νικάνορ  
Γαλατείας  
Πολε-  
μαίου.

One of the most important sites in this part of the country is that of Velúkhovo. It is perhaps the strongest position in all Aetolia, if indeed the site must be claimed for Aetolia at all. The fortress, of great extent, is built upon a spur of Vardhóusi which forms with the opposite ridge a narrow pass—the Stenó—spanned by a single arch under which flows the Morno coming from the valley between Vardhóusi and Guióna. Above the bridge the river is called the Méga and just above the pass it receives the waters of the torrent of Velúkhovo which defends the east side of the fortress. Below the pass along the western foot of the hill flows the red stream of the Kókkino river which also unites with the Morno. Leake, who gives a sketch plan of the site, *Travels in North. Greece*, vol. ii. p. 600, calls it Hyle, a town of the Ozolian Lokrians, as we learn from Steph. Byz. He would substitute Ὑλαῖοι for Ταῖοι in Thuc. iii. 101 though he would admit the existence of a town Ταῖα also among the Ozolians. Becker *De Aetolia adjecta*, p. 13, calls the site Aigition where Demosthenes was defeated in the expedition before mentioned.

It is possible that epigraphical evidence may turn up to settle the identity of the town, as, in addition to the inscriptions copied here I heard of at least three more which I was unable to see.

18.—On a slab about 2' high, with moulding at top: letters well cut, about 1½" high; upper part much rubbed, but the owner of the stone, Dimitrios Konstantello of the khan at the pass, who found the inscription about five years ago in the ruins, said that the first word read Καλονίκας. The character of lines 4-6 smaller than that of lines above them: the last word smaller still. The slab is quite perfect.

ΟΝΙΚΑΣ  
ΝΑ  
ΚΑΛΟΝΙΚΑΣ  
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ  
5 ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ  
ΝΙΚΙΑΔΑΣ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ

ονικας  
να  
Καλονίκας  
Δαμοκρατείας,  
Πατροκλέος  
Νικιάδας.  
Ἀριστίων.



19.—About a mile from the khan, near the ruined church of Háchios Vasíleios in the middle of the maize fields on the banks of the Morno is found a large block, measuring  $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 2'$ . The soil must be removed to lay bare the inscription which is beautifully cut, with letters about 2" high. The third word is in a much smaller character. Stone perfect.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΞ  
ΝΙΚΑΤΑΣ  
ΜΟΛΥΣΧΡΙΟΣ

Δικαιοπόλις  
Νικάτας  
Μολύσχιος.

20.—Built into the wall of a terrace of modern construction in the fields just above the pass, is a large block in which in large irregular characters, 3" high, is cut the following inscription. The stone is perfect.

ΑΓΛΝΙΠΠΑΑΣΤΛ  
ΘΕΥΚΟΛΗΣΑΣΑΙ  
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙ  
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ

Ἀγωνίππα Ἀστῶ  
θευκολησᾶσαι,  
Ἀρτέμιτι  
ἀνέθηκαν.

*θευκολησᾶσαι* is Doric for *θεο...*, cf. a somewhat similar inscription *C.I.G.* 1934 from Chandler *Inscr. Antiq.* ii. p. 86, No. 159, where we have *θυγατέρα θεοκολήσασαν Ἀρτέμιτι*.

21.—On the east of Agrinion the river Eremítza flows into the lake of Angelócastro. Following the river up towards its source in the hills called Plokoári, we reach, after passing the site of the old village of Sykiá, a point where the path passes along the edge of precipices which form the left bank of the river. Here in the path lies a flat rock, measuring 5' x 4'. The face of it has been covered with inscription but only the upper part, in very deeply cut letters 5 inches high, can now be deciphered.

They read :—

ΤΕΡΜΩΝ  
ΕΙΤΕΑΙΩΝ  
ΕΟΙΤΑΝΩ  
ΔΑΕΞΘΗ  
ΕΥΛΙΧΘΕΟΞ

Τέρμων  
Είτεαίων  
Ἐοιτάνω[ν.

The lower part, in letters only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, is too much worn by the weather to be made out. A final *Ν* is broken away at the end of the third word. We have here a stone of boundary between the Eiteaioi and the Eoitanes, undoubtedly two sections of the Eurytanes, just as we find the Ophieis divided into smaller tribes—the Bomieis and Kallieis with in all probability many more, like the Bouttioi of the Skála inscriptions. The lower part



of the inscription would then have defined the boundary with more exactness or have stated the penalties attaching to disregard of the limits between the two tribes, but it is unfortunately impossible to recover more than the few letters given. The stone is well known to all the neighbourhood and the place is called more particularly Γρηᾶς ὁ φοῦρνος from a curious legend and custom connected with it. Bazin *l.c.* p. 317 has also published the inscription.

On the south-western horizon, looking from Agrinion, the conical summit rising above the village of Angelócastro is a conspicuous feature. The ruined Byzantine tower which crowns it is a witness to its long past military importance. It is in fact no other than Konope, better known under its later name Arsinoe, a name of ill sound in later Aetolian history, for within its walls Aetolian first shed the blood of Aetolian in civil strife. It got its new name from Arsinoe, wife and sister of Ptolemy II. Before marrying him she had been espoused in 299 B.C. to the Thracian king Lysimachos, who must have been on good terms with the Aetolians sometime between 297 and 283 B.C., as he gave his own name to a town in the vicinity. His struggle with Demetrios Poliorketes, an enemy of Aetolia, would tend to bring about his friendly relations with the League, but history says nothing about it.

22.—On clay slab about 18" high, stamped in letters about 1" high.

ΛΥΣΑΝΙΑ

*Λυσανία.*

23.—On similar slab, but according to finder, Christos Krikéles, discovered in different place.

ΑΡΙΣΙΝΟΕΩΝ

*Ἀρσινοέων.*

These were found in the plain on the north side of the hill which contains the ruins of the later Byzantine castle erected on the old Hellenic akropolis. There are many remains on this plain, which extends as far as the river known in ancient times as the Kyathos, including fragments of Doric columns and slabs from what has probably been a small shrine.

On the road which passes along the south side of the two lakes, and which must correspond exactly to the route of Philip in his rapid march against Thermon, are many ancient sites. According to Polybios, after passing Konope, the Macedonians next reached Lysimachia and Trichonion. These will correspond respectively to the ruins found at Papadhátai and Gavalóu.

24.—On rough stele in the village of Papadhátai in large rudely shaped letters almost illegible.

ΦΑΛΑΚΡΟΥ

*Φάλακρον.*



25.—White veined stone stele decorated with oak leaves and rampant animals, now lying in two pieces at the spring on north side of the akropolis hill of Gavalóu. Letters carefully cut. There does not seem to be anything wanting at the beginning, though the first letter is mutilated.

## ALLIA·C·L·LENA

26.—On plain slab of brown stone 2' × 1' in good letters 1½" high.

This and the inscription No. 25 published also by Cousin *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1886, p. 189.

ΤΡΩΙΑΞ  
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

Τρωιάς  
ἀνέθηκε.

27.—On stele above a fireplace: coarse grey stone 2½' high. Letters rude and coarse 1½" high.

ΑΛΕΞΙΑΞ

Ἀλεξίας.

28.—In vineyards east of the hill, 18" high, of that hard, white, veined stone which seems to have been imported. Letters fair, about 1½" high: second word very faint.

ΟΦΕΛΙΩΝΟΞ  
ΑΝΘΙΡΡΑΣ

Ὀφελίωνος  
Ἀνθίρρας.

On the plateau rising above the eastern end of lake Trichonis, the largest and most easterly of the two lakes which occupy the plain in the centre of Aetolia, are found the ruins now known as 'palaiobázaro' close to the village of Kephálóvrysis. Bazin *loc. cit.* calls these ruins the Heliopion mentioned in the second expedition of Philip into this region; Pol. xi. 7. Lolling, publishing a few fragmentary inscriptions from there, *Mith. des deut. Arch. Inst.* iv. p. 221, calls it Thermon, the meeting-place of the confederacy, and this seems correct. Many antiquities are found by the peasants in the maize fields which cover the site, including fragments of statuary in marble and bronze. We remember that two thousand statues were found in the town by Philip in his first expedition, in 218 B.C. Pol. v. 9.

29.—The following inscription is found on a large limestone block with a simple moulding. Letters shallow, but good, about 1" high: much worn. It is just possible that ΚΑΙΚΥΔΩΝΙΟΝ in L. 4 is a mistake in transcription or one made by the stone-cutter for ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝΙΟΝ. But I think the copy is correct. Slight fracture at lower left-hand corner.



ΑΡΟΛΙΣΤΩΝΟΡΟΥΝΤΙΩΝΚΑΙΟΙΛΟΚΡΟΙ  
ΟΙΜΕΟΡΟΥΝΤΙΩΝΤΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΟΝ  
ΤΩΝΑΙΤΩΛΩΝΛΥΚΩΡΟΝΡΟΛΕΜΑΡ  
ΧΟΥΚΑΙΚΥΔΩΝΙΟΝΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ  
5 ΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΞΤΑΞΕΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΟΙΞ  
ΟΙΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ

ἡ πόλις τῶν Ὀπουντίων καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ  
οἱ μὲ[ν] Ὀπουντίων, τὸν στραταγὸν  
τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Λύκωρον Πολεμάρ  
χου καὶ Κυδώνιον, ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν  
5 κ]αὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτοὺς τοῖς  
θε]οῖς ἀνέθηκαν.

North of Kephalóvrysis in the village of Mókista is a Byzantine church largely composed of blocks from a neighbouring Hellenic temple. Several inscriptions are found in the walls, mostly Byzantine. Some of them are given by Bazin *l.c.* who calls it, 'l'église des Saints-Archanges.' G. Cousin, who publishes inscriptions from there, *Bull.* 1886, p. 188, quotes Weil, in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vii. p. 125, who calls it Sophia. The real truth is that there are two churches in one: the larger one is dedicated to Haghiος Nikolaos, the smaller, on the south side, to H. Taxiarches, *i.e.* Michael. The more ancient building close by, now in ruins, is the Sophia of Weil.

30.—On a large stone walled into the south side of the church is the following inscription; it occurs twice, at the right and left hand near the top of the stone, while below has been added a much later inscription which is illegible. Letters good. Traces—not reproducible—of Ν and final ο in left hand line.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΟΣΑΓΕΜΟΙ

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΟΣΑ

Ἀρτέμιτος Ἀγεμό[νος].

Bazin *l.c.* takes this to mean 'Artemitos, son of Agemon' but there is no doubt that we must regard it as a boundary stone of some kind perhaps set up on land belonging to the temple. We learn from Hesych. that Ἠγεμόνη was a title of Aphrodite, as well as of Artemis. Anton. Liber. 4 mentions the cult of Artemis Ἠγεμόνη at Ambrakia.

31.—On the north side of lake Trichonis, high up in the bosom of Mount Viéna, is Saponíkos near important ruins of castro and temple. In the apse of the small church of the Holy Apostles, forming the Holy Table, is a large block 3' x 2' on which is cut the following inscription in deep clear letters 1½" high: the eleventh word only 1". Quite perfect; find-place unknown, but the village itself contains remains of good buildings and it may come from near them.



ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΙΑΤΟΣ ΑΙΣΣΧΡΙΩΝΟΣ  
ΕΤΩΝ ΚΖ ΧΑΙΡΕ  
ΣΤΡΑΤΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΙΑΤΟΥ  
ΕΤΩΝ ΝΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ  
ΔΙΚΕΟΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΛΥΚΙΔΑ ΕΤΩΝ ΚΖ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Καλλιστιατὸς Αἰσσχρίωνος,  
ἐτῶν κζ' . χαῖρε.  
Στρατῶ Καλλιστιατοῦ,  
ἐτῶν νε' . χαῖρε.  
Δικεόπολις  
Λυκίδα, ἐτῶν κζ' .  
χαῖρε.

32.—Where Mount Viéna comes quite down to the lake and almost closes the road along its northern shore is placed the town of Paravóla with interesting and well preserved remains. The ancient name of the town is not known. Bazin conjectures it to have been Boukation, a town found in an inscription from Krionéro, where are the remains of the temple of the Syrian Aphrodite of Phistyon. The following late inscription comes from Paravóla. It is on a thin slab of white marble, in three pieces but otherwise perfect.

ΕΥΠΟΡΟΣ  
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥΑΠ  
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ  
ΕΤΩΝΝΕ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Εὐπορος  
'Επινίκου ἀπ-  
ελεύθερος,  
ἐτῶν νε' .  
χαῖρε.

In north Aetolia, the district occupied by the wild Eurytanes, inscriptions are rare and ruins also are not found in any quantity; most of them are in the north-west corner which seems to have been Aperantia.

33.—North of Hághios Vlásios lies the poor village of Hághios Vasíleios on the south bank of the river of Agalianós, a little above where it receives the waters of the Agraphiotikó potamó from the north. In the threshing-floor of the *Σερμπανέων* is found the following inscription brought from the neighbouring ruins many years ago. It is on a slab of native grey stone 18" high, in irregular letters. In spite of the criticisms of Bazin thirty years ago—*Mémoire*, p. 299—the villagers still cherish the idea that the inscription refers to the hidden treasures of the two neighbouring kingdoms, of Aperantia across the river and the city which stood near their own village.

ΞΙΜΑ  
ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ  
ΡΙΑΩΠΑΣ  
ΚΡΙΤΟΛΑ  
ΟΣ  
ΔΡΔΥΜΑ

Ξιμᾶ.  
Θεόδοτος  
Ριαώπας.  
Κριτόλαος  
'Αρδυμᾶ.



Two of these names only are Greek, the others barbarian ; one seems to be wanting at the top of the stone. They may be three Aperantian magistrates, two of them at least with Greek names, but all three having fathers who bear names of a barbaric origin. In the last line the first Δ seems to have been cut by mistake for Α. Stone broken only at top.

34.—Far away in the north-west at the foot of the conspicuous cone called Djouka [= hill] lies the village of Lepianá. In a tomb opened in the field of V. G. Pharmakes there was found the following on a slab of brown sandstone 18" square in rude, deeply cut letters 1" high. Broken at top right-hand corner.

ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΕΙ  
ΑΝΤΙΔΙΚΟΥ

Ἀντικράτει[α  
Ἀντιδίκου.

Still further north, almost as far as the river Plataniás, once the boundary between Greece and Turkey, is the village called Zelianítsa which contains a great cemetery. Of all the reported finds of inscriptions the following three are all that have escaped destruction.

35.—On a slab of coarse grey sandstone much worn in fairly careful lettering. In possession of Κόστας Ζακάκης.

ΕΥΤΥΝ  
ΑΙΝΙΧΟΥ  
ΚΛΕΟΤΑΣ  
ΤΕΛΕΜΜΟΥ

Εὐτύ[νομος  
Αἰνίχου.  
Κλεότας  
Τελέμμου.

The first word is probably Εὐτύνομος : there appear the fragments of an ο and an Μ on the stone.

36.—Fragment of stele 15" wide in possession of the Chrysaphogeorgaíoi. Letters 1" high rather rude. Found five years ago.

ΤΕΛΕΝΙΚΟΣ  
ΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΥ

Τελένικος  
Ἀγοραίου.

37.—Stele 18" wide of a grey sandstone beautifully prepared for inscription. Letters very clearly cut. Found recently on the north side of the ruins by the Chrysaphogeorgaíoi along with very fine gold earrings and other ornaments.

ΕΥΡΥΝΟΜΗ  
ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΟΥ

Εὐρυνόμη  
Τιμαγόρου.



## THE THEATRE AT MEGALOPOLIS.

THE following is the principal part of a letter published in the *Athenaeum* of August 5th last, explaining my change of view with regard to the scenic arrangements of the theatre at Megalopolis:—

‘In order to [explain my change of view] I must recall as briefly as possible the main point at issue between Mr. Gardner<sup>1</sup> and Prof. Dörpfeld.



‘Before the theatre at Megalopolis stood a large building—the “Thersilion”—whose portico served as the background or *frons scenae*, in front of which the actors in the theatre played. The *original* level immediately in front of this portico—i.e. the level at which the actors originally stood—was 3 ft. 3 in. above the original level of the orchestra of the present theatre; but the level immediately before the portico was afterwards lowered, to precisely this extent, by the addition of three steps to its stylobate. So far all parties are agreed. Then arises the question on which the whole controversy turns—To what period, relatively to the “Thersilion,” is the theatre to be assigned? Is it contemporary with the portico in its original form? or is it contemporary with the lower steps of the portico? Mr. Gardner holds the former view, and thence draws the inevitable conclusion that there was either a terrace or a platform, some 3 ft. 3 in. in height, before the portico—in other words, there was a *stage*. Prof. Dörpfeld adopts the other alternative, and explains the difference of level by the hypothesis, not of a terrace or platform before the portico, but of an earlier theatre, contemporary with the “Thersilion” in its original form, and lying at a higher level than the theatre now in existence.

‘I think any one who reads pp. 80 *sqq.* of our publication, where the two theories are set out at length, will feel that Prof. Dörpfeld’s view accounts better both for the levels and for the addition of the lower steps to the portico than the one which Mr. Gardner and I have so long agreed in adopting. At the same time there are very strong arguments in favour of Mr. Gardner’s theory, one of which I have until recently regarded as conclusive.

‘1. The first argument is mainly epigraphical. The seats of honour, which are probably somewhat *later* in date than the rest of the theatre, bear

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Ernest Gardner, Director of the British School at Athens.]



an inscription which it is difficult to place, on epigraphical grounds, much later than the middle of the fourth century B.C., while the foundation of Megalopolis did not take place till 370 B.C. Prof. Dörpfeld's theory crowds into this narrow interval two theatres, and (corresponding to them) two sets of steps before the portico, the later steps being, moreover, distinguished from the earlier by marked differences of technique ( clamps for  clamps, lead-runings, and inferior fitting of joints).

'2. The other argument, in its original form, was wholly independent of epigraphy, being based entirely on a comparison of the technique of the theatre seats with that of the upper steps of the portico on the one hand and the lower steps on the other. Since the seats are (as usual) but loosely adjusted to each other, and devoid of clamps, the only point of comparison possible was the treatment of the surface of the stone. Now the front surface (naturally better preserved than the top surface) of the lower steps was found on examination to present a totally different appearance from that of the upper, and the front surface of the theatre seats was found to resemble exactly that of the *upper* steps. It seemed, then, that we were bound, in the assignment of relative dates, to class the seats and upper steps together as against the lower steps, not (as Prof. Dörpfeld's theory required) the seats and lower steps together as against the upper.

'Each of these arguments, taken by itself, appeared to Mr. Gardner to be conclusive; while I so far differed from him as to place the epigraphical argument in a very subordinate position, since, without being a specialist in epigraphy, I was aware that it is impossible (judging only from the forms of the letters) to date a provincial inscription within very narrow limits. My faith in our own theory depended, therefore, on the second argument—the technical one; and it is because a more recent visit to Megalopolis, and a more searching examination, convinced me that this second argument was less good than I had formerly supposed, that I was obliged to withdraw my signature from our account of the theatre,<sup>2</sup> and to range myself on Prof. Dörpfeld's side. What we had formerly regarded as a difference of technique now appeared to me to be only a difference in the degree to which the stone had been worn or weathered. In fact, I found at least one case of *transition* between the two kinds of surface-marking—a transition obviously due to weathering.

'Mr. Gardner maintains that if this be so, the argument is, if anything, stronger than before. The lower steps are so little worn that their front surface shows everywhere the kind of net-work lines made by the tooth-chisel, while on that of the upper steps these lines are nowhere visible. This, he contends, implies a difference of date too great to admit of the seats of honour, with their apparently fourth century inscriptions, being contemporary with, or later than, the lower steps. The argument, even in this

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<sup>2</sup> [That my name appeared after all, is due to the fact that the editors did not consider themselves at liberty to admit so important an alteration in joint work which was actually passing through the press.]



form, is (I admit) a strong one ; but, since its value depends entirely on the date of the inscription, which I have always refused to take as a final criterion, I am quite consistent in refusing to pin my faith to it.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to point out that my 'Plea for Vitruvius' (*Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 92), being wholly independent of our theories about the Megalopolitan theatre, requires no modification in consequence of my altered views. I still consider that insufficient weight has been given to the direct evidence of Vitruvius, writing about the Greek Theatre of his own day, and that misinterpretation of that writer's statements has led to an unfair prejudice against his trustworthiness. Whatever conclusions we may arrive at with regard to individual theatres, Vitruvius must be fairly reckoned with before we can regard the general question of a Greek stage as finally settled.

WILLIAM LORING.

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#### ERRATUM.

EXCAVATIONS AT MEGALOPOLIS, PL. I.—The Scale of Ancient Greek Stades is incorrectly drawn. This does not affect the calculation of the length of the town-walls on p. 114.—W. L.





ODYSSEUS AND THE SIRENS.









KIRKE.









HERAKLES AND ATLAS.









ODYSSEUS AND KIRKE.







FIG. 1



FIG. 2



GROUP FROM THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON















50. A O E M

51. A O E N

52. A O E N A I A S

53. A O E N A I A S  
M

55. Δ □ □ ||



54.

56. PPO O N M O P I M O P E I O L D O X O

57. O E I Δ I A Δ E S A M O E K E N T A O E N A I

58. A D A

59. E D O K E E R  
Y A J A M A C

61. T I O V I V M S

62. T O N E P A M E I D A I  
T E O K E N



63. A I F O R N  
M O P I O K A I T I Y I D A I K E

64. a. T O N E P A M E I D A I  
O P P A D O S O E M I D A I

64. b. Γ I Δ E Σ I E I M I  
I P A Ψ E I A S A N T I O I O N M E

65. Ψ A







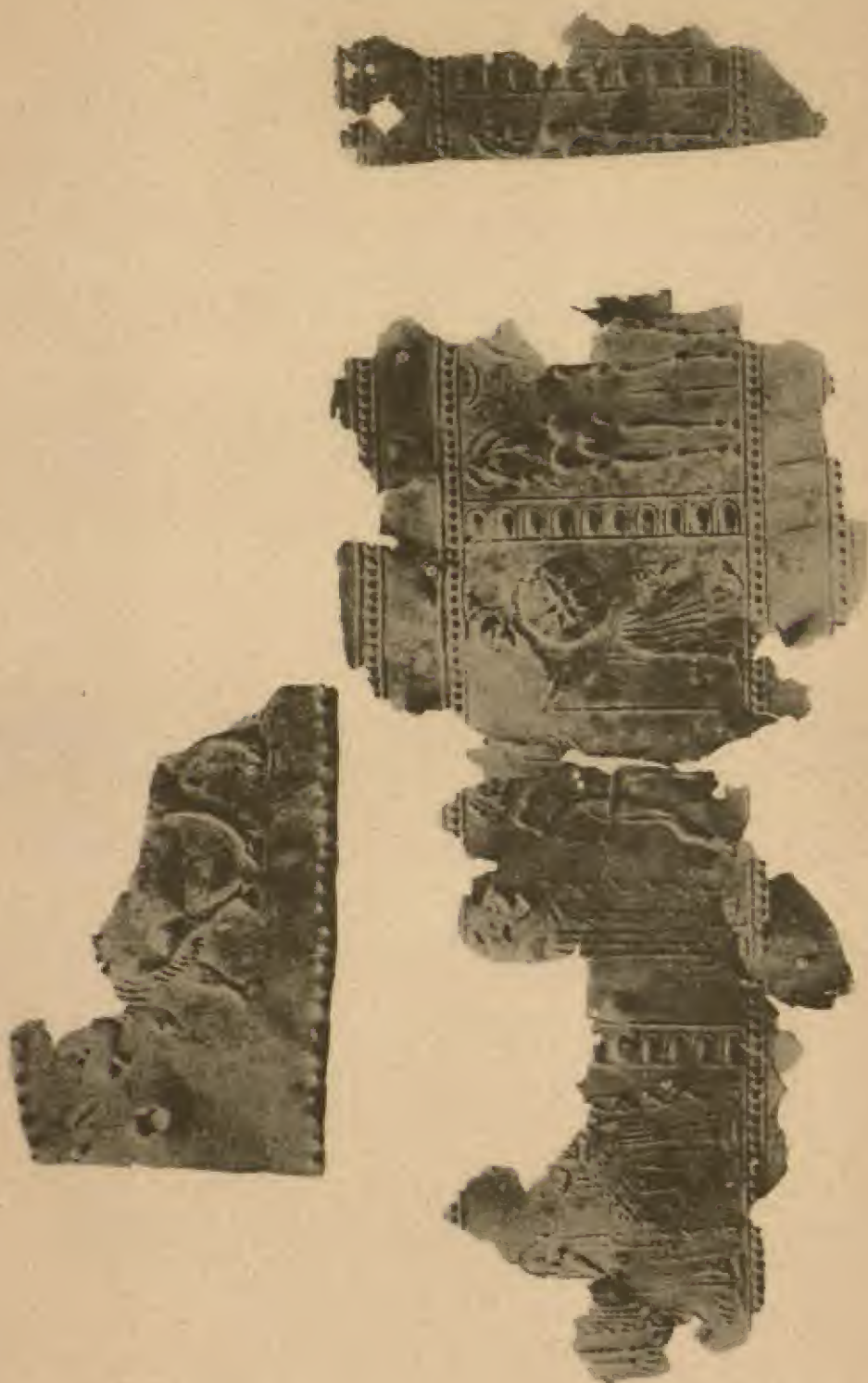


BRONZE RELIEF FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.









BRONZE PLATES FROM ELEUTHERAE.









FRAGMENT OF A WINGED VICTORY.









FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.









FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.









I VERSO.

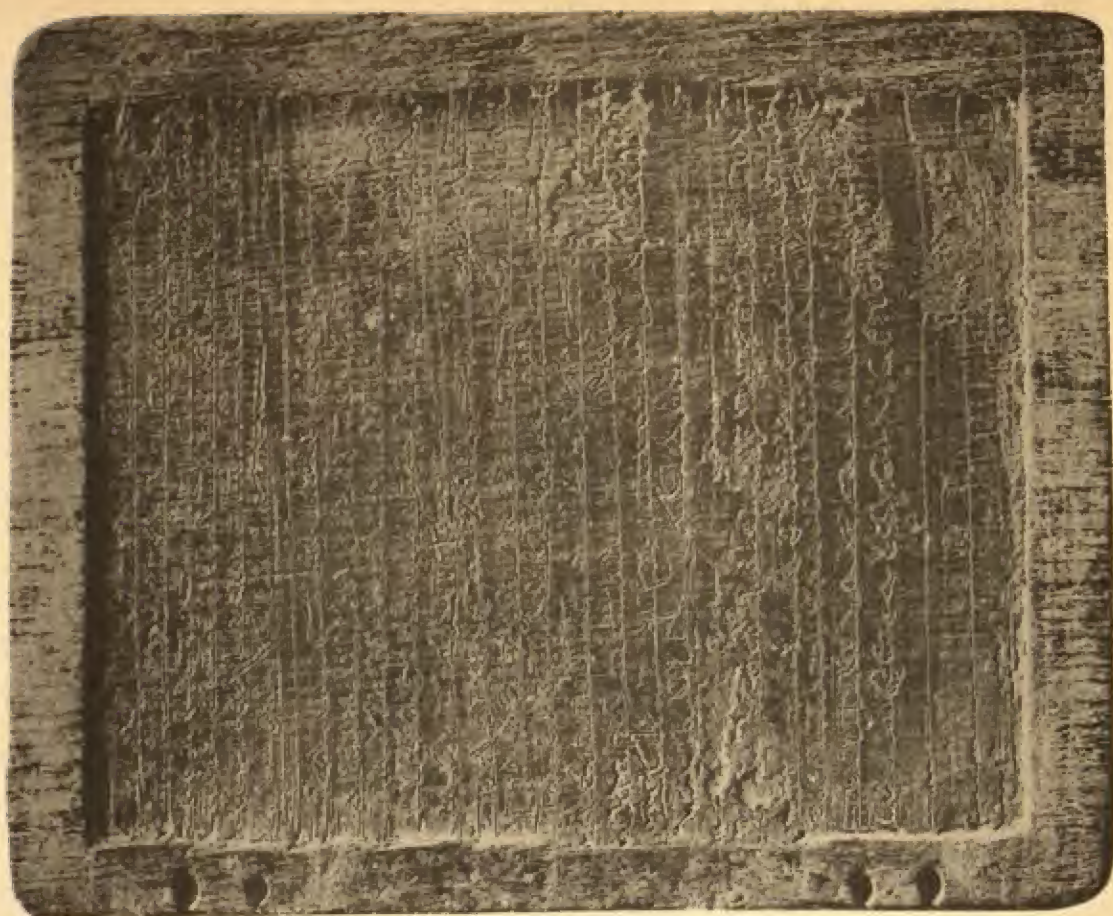


VII VERSO.









II RECTO.



II VERSO.









III RECTO.

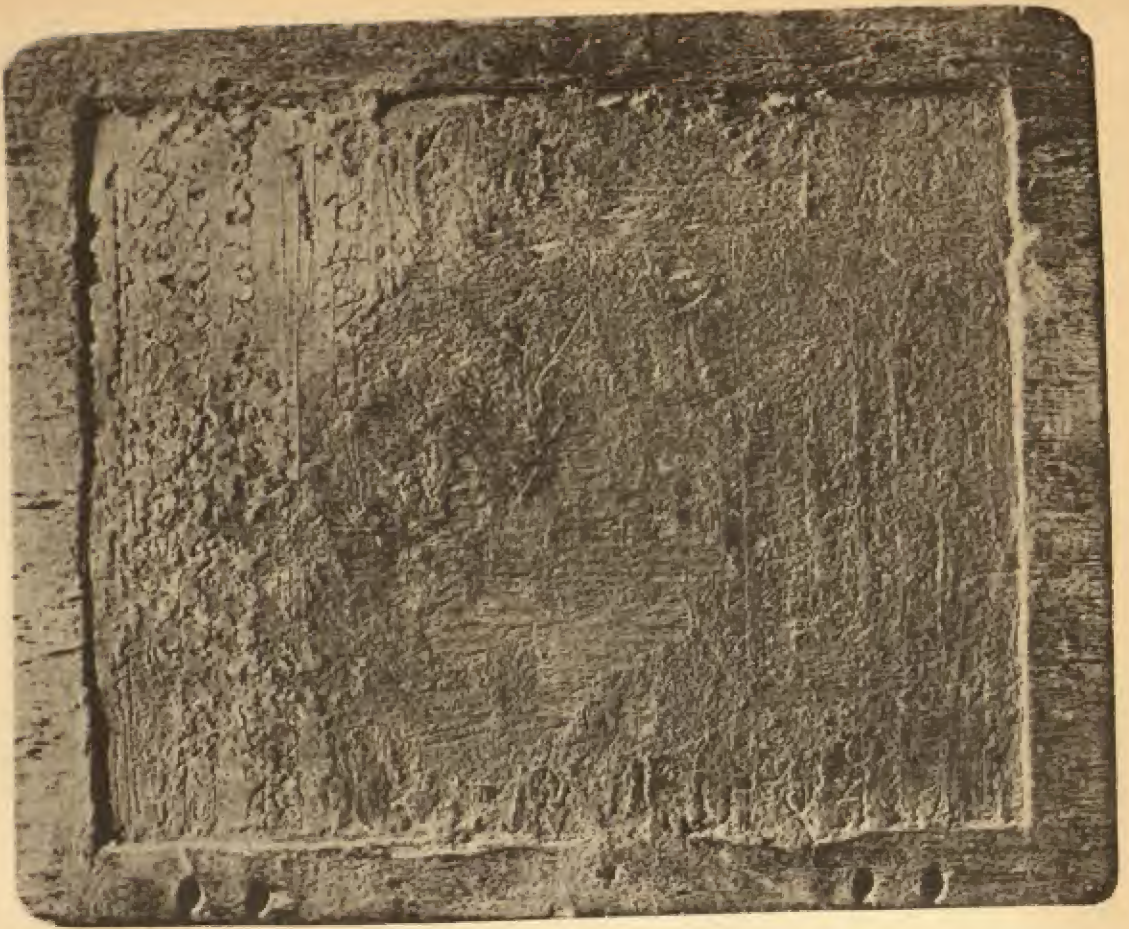


III VERSO.









IV RECTO.



IV VERSO.

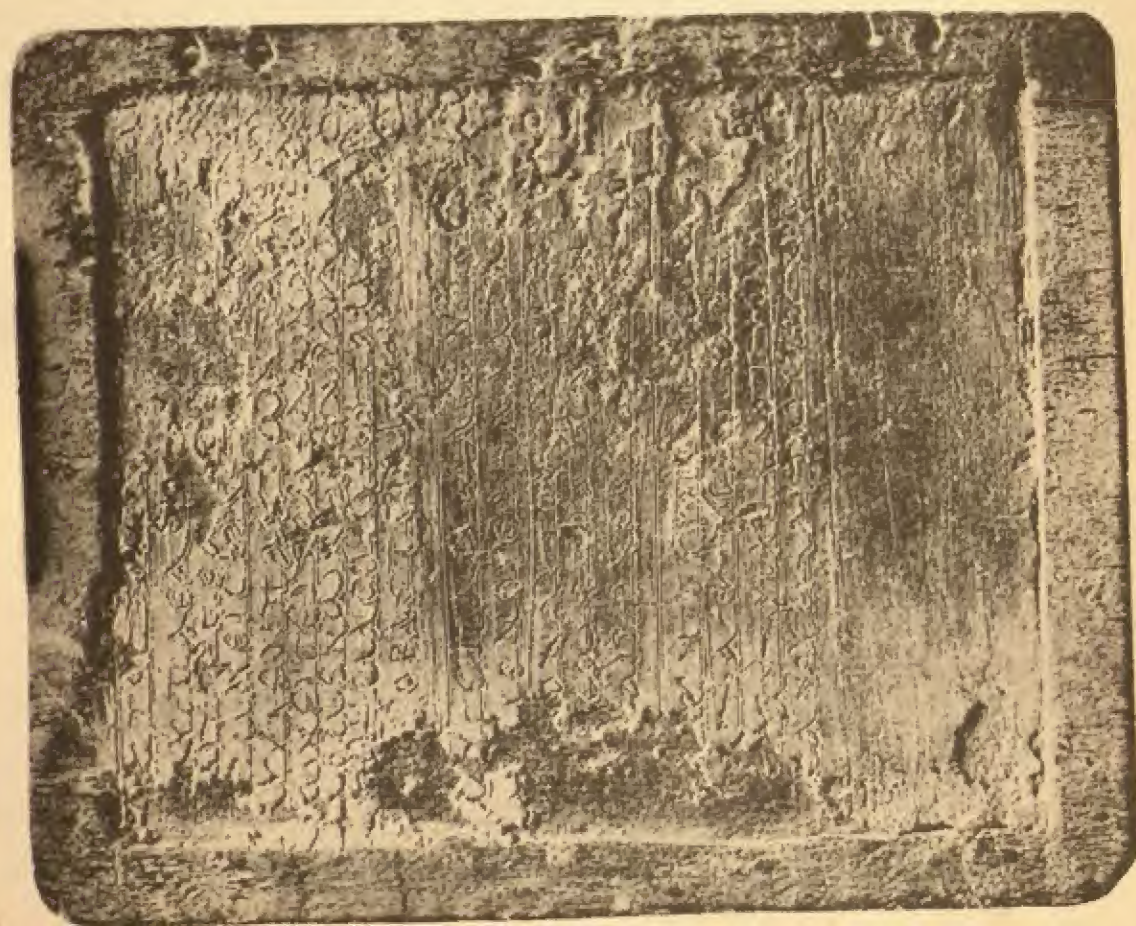








V RECTO.



V VERSO.







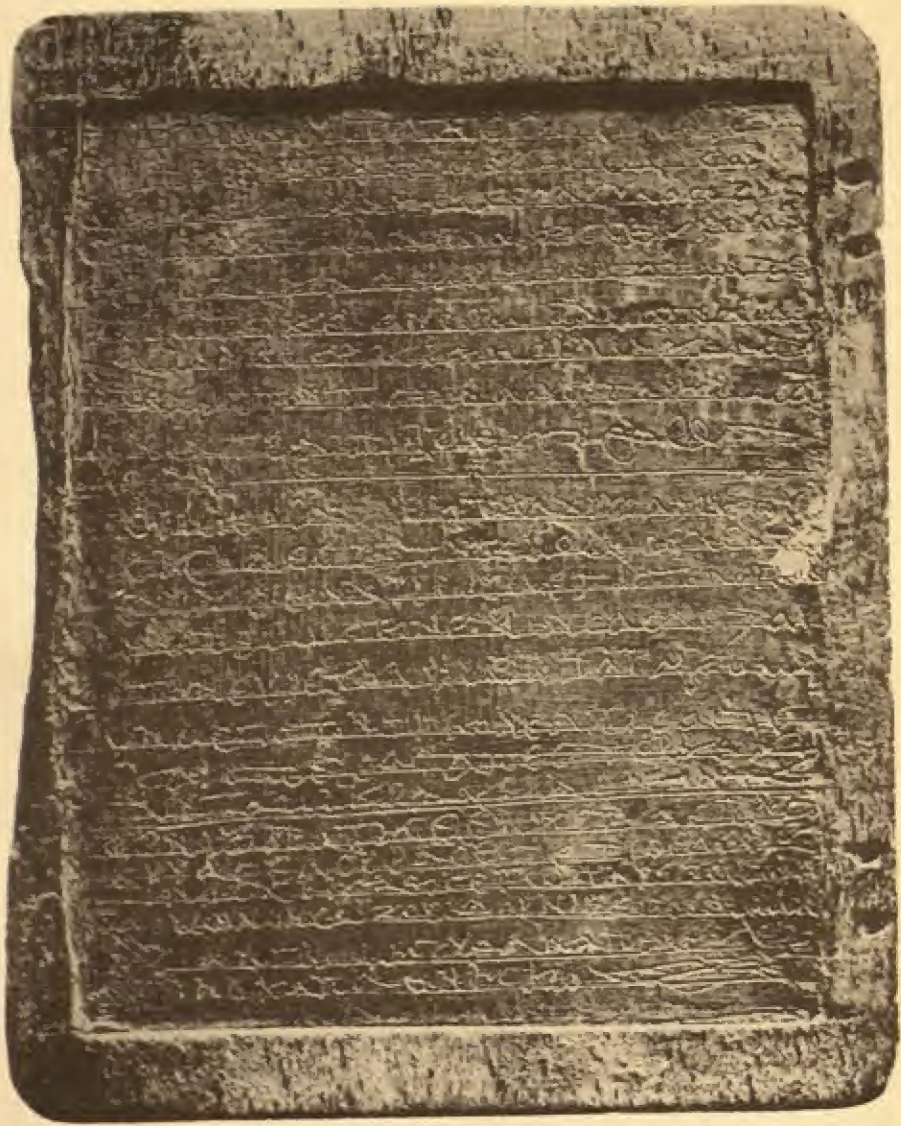
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VI VERSO.



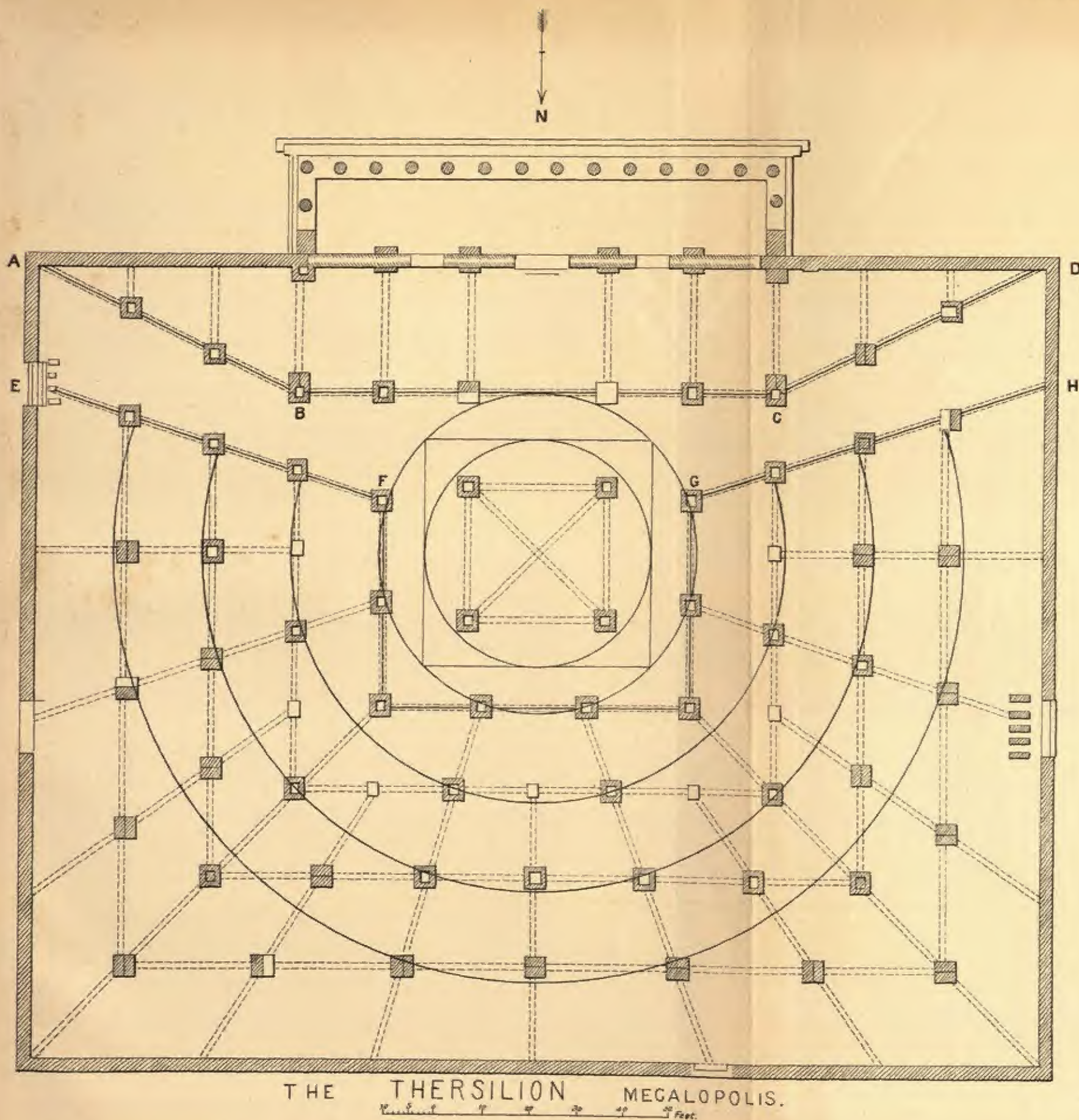




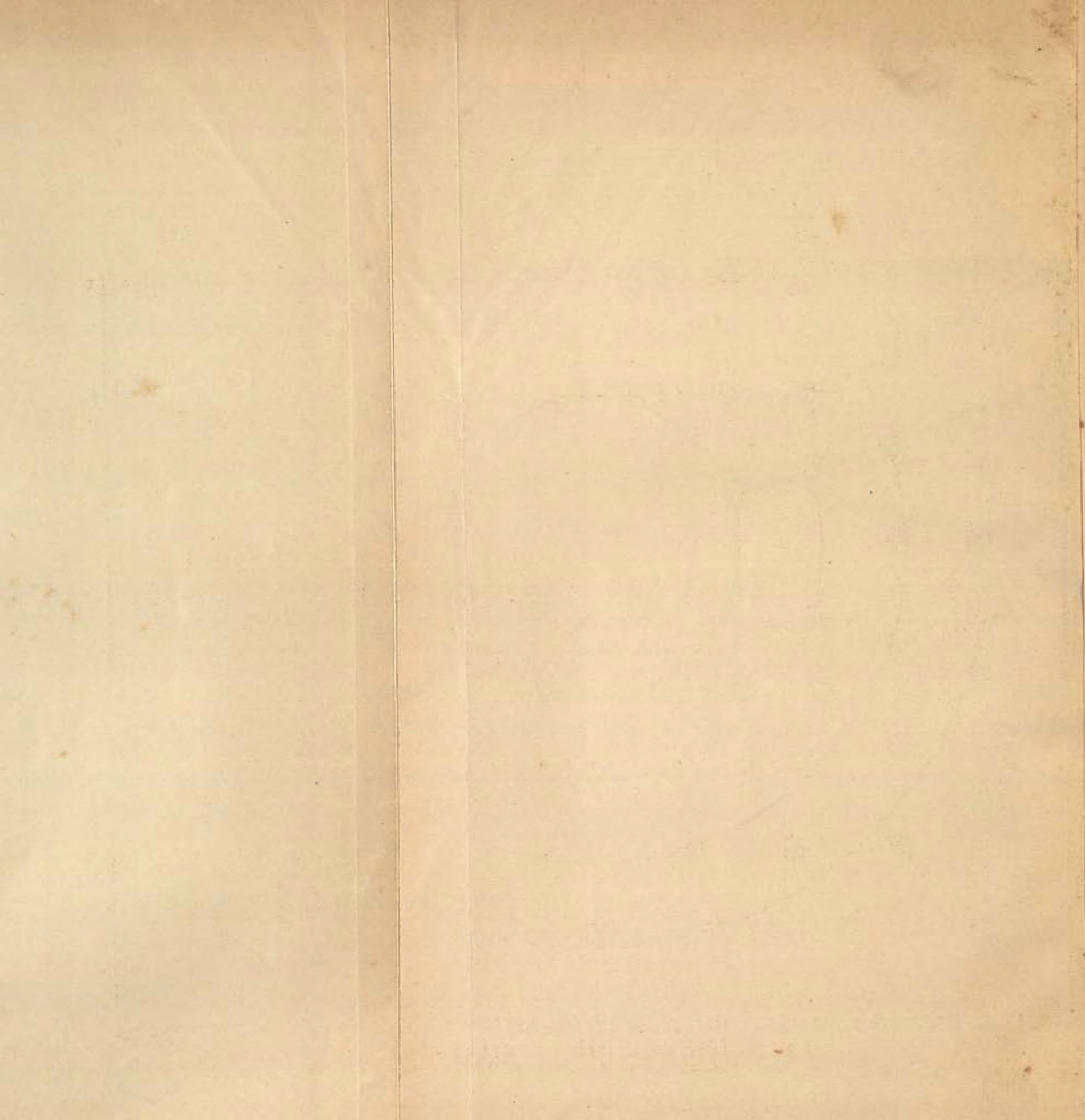
VII RECTO.



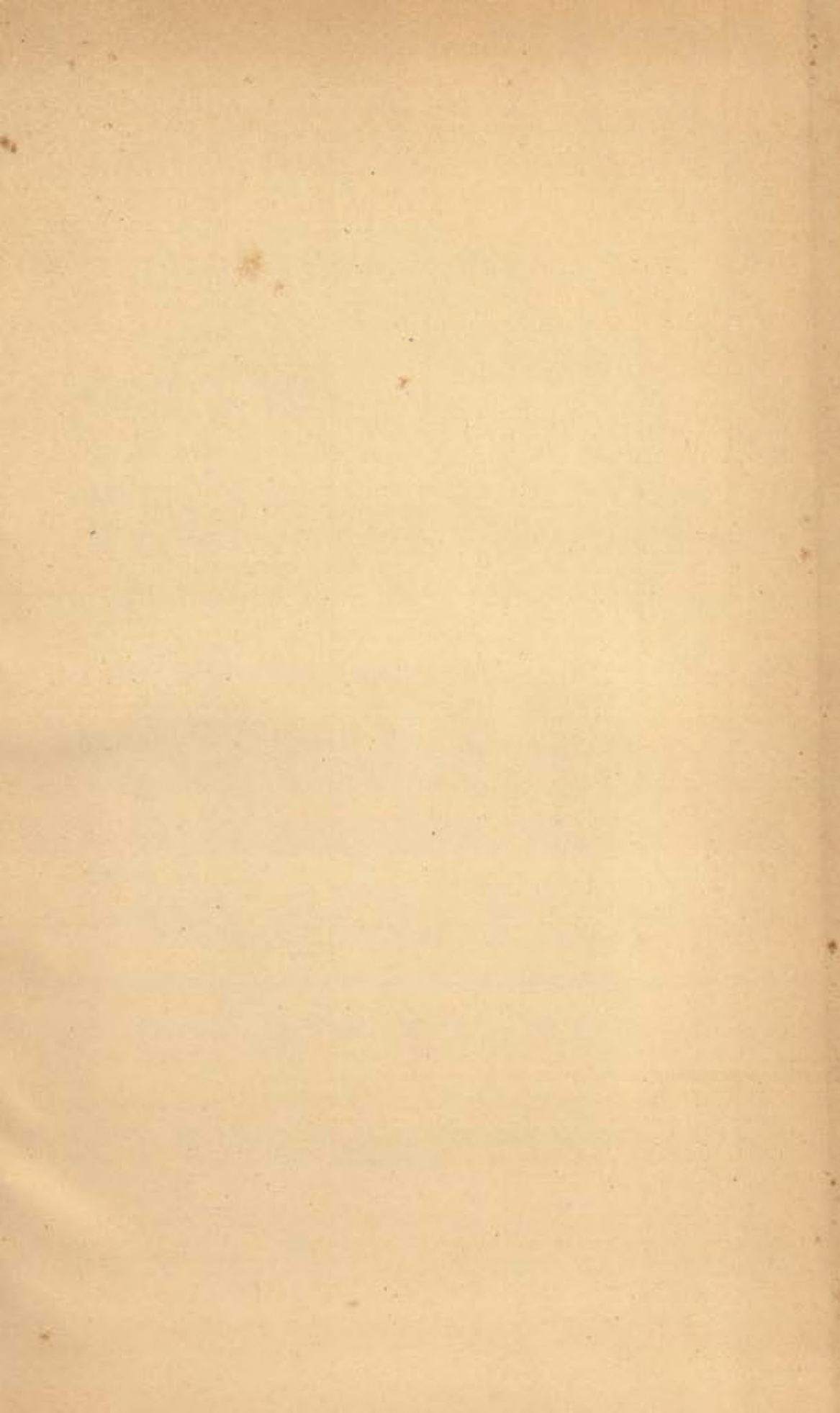
















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